Andrew J. Goodpaster Jr., 1915-1947: The Making of a Political-Military Officer

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Abstract

Josiah T. Grover: Andrew J. Goodpaster Jr., 1915-1947: The Making of a Political-Military Officer
(Under the direction of Richard H. Kohn)

General Andrew J. Goodpaster served in the US Army for thirty-nine years and participated in many of the most important events of the Cold War, from planning nuclear strategy in the Pentagon to serving as President Eisenhower's national security aide, then as director of the Joint Staff, the assistant commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and finally as the superintendent at West Point. In each of these assignments Goodpaster participated in major Cold War events and the simultaneous development of the American national security state. The emergence of the national security state and the changes in political-military affairs that accompanied it changed both the character and the role of the military profession in the United States in substantial ways. Andrew Goodpaster's career exemplified that change. This thesis examines Goodpaster's early life and career from 1915-1947 to discover the foundations of his later, more prominent career.

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Introduction

The piece of shrapnel was small, probably no more than an inch long, but when it punched through Andrew Goodpaster's right elbow on the night of 2 February 1944 it had an impact far larger than its relative size. When the artillery shells exploded near a cluster of jeeps in central Italy, the twenty-nine year old lieutenant colonel was meeting with his battalion staff on the outskirts of Monte Cassino, site of one of the hardest fought battles of the Italian campaign in World War II. The wound to his elbow was a "million-dollar wound" - severe enough to require evacuation, but not bad enough to kill or permanently maim. Goodpaster was lucky – an eighth of an inch deeper, and he would have lost his arm.[1] Goodpaster was evacuated from the Mediterranean Theater and arrived at Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Denver in May 1944.[2]

Goodpaster healed and went on to a long and successful career in the army, earned the four stars of a General, and retired in 1981, almost universally respected within the army and the U.S. Government as a soldier, scholar, and diplomat. Throughout his long career, he

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[1] Proceedings of Disposition Board, 36th General Hospital, 27 March 1944, Box 4, FF 4/3, 48th Battalion Expenses, Andrew J. Goodpaster Collection, Marshall Foundation Research Library, Lexington, VA, Collection 230. [Hereafter source material from the Goodpaster Collection will be referred to as AJG Collection 230 or 231-A, as appropriate]; "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/bib/loc.natlib.afc2001001.29916, Video File. [This source consists of a 77 minute video-taped interview of Goodpaster and 6 separate audio recordings. Numbers 1-4 are from Goodpaster's final months in the hospital in 2005. Numbers 5 & 6 were recorded in 1996.]

[2] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," DVD, 2001, Goodpaster Collection 231-A, Marshall Foundation Research Library, Box 11, DVD #7, File 1. [These interviews were recorded between 2001 and 2004, and then recorded as video files on DVDs for storage.]

was involved to a greater or lesser degree in the conduct of political-military affairs as a strategic planner, presidential aide, and the commander of NATO forces.[3] From the end of World War II through the early days of the Reagan administration Andrew Goodpaster participated in many of the most important events of the Cold War, from planning nuclear strategy in the Pentagon to serving as President Eisenhower's national security aide, then as director of the Joint Staff, the assistant commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and finally as the superintendent at West Point. In each of these assignments Goodpaster participated in major Cold War events and the simultaneous development of the American national security state. The emergence of the national security state and the changes in political-military affairs that accompanied it changed both the character and the role of the military profession in the United States in substantial ways. Andrew Goodpaster's career exemplified that change.

Goodpaster's life and career from 1915 through 1947 provided the foundation for his later, more influential assignments during the Cold War. His childhood, education, and experiences shaped who he was and how he emerged as a rising star in the War Department. The events of that period revealed why Goodpaster was selected for various assignments, and by whom, as well as the significance of those linkages to Goodpaster's later career. His experiences also illuminated the military's socialization and protégé system before, during, and after World War II.[4] Perhaps more importantly, Andrew Goodpaster's early career

[3] For the purposes of this thesis I define political-military affairs as the connection between policy and strategy. The particular policy focus is national security policy, the political statement of objectives that the military and other government agencies are tasked to achieve. Military strategy, then, is designed to achieve the goals stated in policy. The relationship between these two grew much closer in the years after WWII, particularly after the introduction of nuclear weapons. That is not to say the connection always occurred; a disjunction between the two has persisted to a greater or lesser degree ever since the end of WWII.

[4] See Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Free Press, 1974), 125-127, 145.

revealed a change in officer career patterns that developed in the immediate post-war period as the army tried to come to grips with the military's new role in the U.S. government. These changes in career patterns gave some officers, like Goodpaster, advanced educational opportunities and established new paths for assignment and promotion. The increased complexity of political-military problems after World War II seemed to demand new ways of thinking about war, strategy, and national policy. Some senior leaders within the military, and particularly within the army, responded to these demands by adapting their approach to officer professional development for selected individuals, thereby creating a group of officers with unconventional career paths, including political-military officers.[5]

While political-military officers were not unique to this period, attempts by senior leaders to identify promising officers and secure advanced education for them reflected, to some degree, a departure from the pre-World War II professional mentoring relationships between senior leaders and young officers with potential.[6] In this way, Andrew Goodpaster's early career not only illustrated the continuity of patronage through the post-war period, but also demonstrated how advanced education came to augment, and to some degree replace, the informal mentoring dynamics of the old army. Goodpaster, as one of the very first officers in the post-war period to experience that shift, was a transitional figure: an exceptionally intelligent, combat experienced officer who went on to become one of the most notable political-military officers of his generation. However, understanding Goodpaster's

[5]Specific senior leaders in the military, like Dwight Eisenhower, recognized the need for professionally developing young officers within a changing institutional paradigm. For the "tapping" of junior officers, see Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 145-148; for unconventional career paths, see 151-171. For the purposes of this thesis I define "political-military officer" as an officer whose unconventional career path includes a high degree of involvement in the political-military connection between strategy and policy described above in FN 3. See FN 120 for the army officer's conventional career path.

[6] See especially Dwight D. Eisenhower, *At Ease: Stories I Tell My Friends* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1967), 185-187.

later and more significant career requires an examination of how he came to the attention of senior officers, which officers decided to mentor him, which officers he selected as role models, and what those choices meant for his career.

By 1947, Andrew Goodpaster, a child of the Depression-era Midwest, had excelled at West Point, proven himself by the standards of his profession on the battlefield in Italy, helped shape the post-war world as a strategic planner, and secured the connections necessary to ensure continued advancement; through these experiences Goodpaster's life and early career illustrate the making of a Cold War political-military officer.

Childhood and the Depression

Andrew Jackson Goodpaster, Jr., called "Jack" by family and friends until his arrival at West Point in 1935, was born in February of 1915 in Granite City, Illinois, a small manufacturing town on the east bank of the Mississippi River just outside of St. Louis.[7] With some 12,000 inhabitants at the time of Jack's birth, the town had a large population of Eastern European immigrants, mainly Hungarian, but also Bulgarians, Poles, and Czechs.[8] The heart of Granite City's economy was the industrial district by the river where the Graniteware factory, steel mills, and railway yards employed the majority of the working populace.[9]

Goodpaster's father, Andrew Sr., grew up in Indiana but relocated to Illinois in the first decade of the twentieth century as a railroad worker.[10] He eventually became a conductor on the electric railway that ran from Alton, Illinois to St. Louis, where he met Theresa Mrovka, a second generation Polish-American seamstress who worked in the city.

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[7]General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 1, File 1.

[8] Granite City, *A History of Granite City - Part Three: The Rise and Fall of a Powerhouse (1896 - 1956 A.D.)*, "Granite City, Illinois - Official Website," http://www.granitecity.illinois.gov/wfapp?ACTION=Node&NodeID=83

[9] Ibid.

[10]Department of Commerce and Labor – Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 – Population," Series: T624, Roll: 310, pg. 285, http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/ (accessed 25 March 2008).

Despite different backgrounds, they "took a shine to each other," as Goodpaster later recalled, and settled in Granite City.[11]

In 1922 the Goodpaster family, consisting of Andrew Sr., Theresa, Jack, his older brother Walter, and his baby sister Isla May, moved to the small town of Monrovia, Indiana, not far from where Andrew Sr. had grown up. The family settled on a small farm there, "an 80 acre plot of the finest soil in the world" with a small creek running through it.[12] Goodpaster's father had always loved farming; he was quite good at it, and managed to get his first planting in that summer.

The farm produced a good crop, but at the time market prices for grain dropped, so Goodpaster's father left the family in Monrovia and headed north "to Ypsilanti, Michigan, where he would work on cars through the winter" at the automobile factory there. Andrew Sr.'s aunt, Lou Zouk, visited frequently to help with the children. Goodpaster later recalled that his mother and great-aunt "would talk, almost in secret, away from us. My guess is that it always had to do with my dad's sad initial childhood and why it is that he had to be raised by Aunt Lou. They would talk, and I would often see my mother cry after those talks."[13]

Goodpaster remembered his father as an "upright and righteous man" who strongly believed in individual responsibility and had a deep and abiding respect for the Bible, from which he read to his children.[14] Goodpaster's parents both worked hard to instill in their

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[11] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 1, File 1.

[12]"Andrew Goodpaster Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/bib/loc.natlib.afc2001001.29916, File 4.

[13] "Andrew Goodpaster Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 4.

[14] General Andrew Goodpaster, Mandell, Kenneth, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 1, File 1; Disc 3, File 1.

children a respect for others, and a sense of responsibility, but his father became the truly formative influence on young Jack. He taught Jack and Walter basic farm chores and the necessity of paying close attention to detail. On one occasion when he was six Jack helped Walter and his father plant the corn. His father explained the importance of putting three grains of corn in each hole, but Jack was careless, and occasionally dropped more grains in. "When the corn finally sprouted, instead of having three shafts, which could grow strong, there were six shafts, that were going to do no good at all, and my father pointed it out to me, and it was a lesson that burned, and stayed, and still does."[15]

Theresa Goodpaster was the daughter of Polish-German immigrants, raised in Pennsylvania, and devoted to her family. Goodpaster later recalled that she was "close to being a saint in her devotion to others," and a model for what he believed a person should be – thoughtful, kind, and considerate. She stressed the importance of education, and made sure the children took their schoolwork seriously. Both of his parents loved music, something Jack inherited and maintained for the rest of his life.[16]

After three years in Monrovia, the Goodpasters returned to Granite City, where Andrew Sr. accepted a position as the scheduling manager for the railroad. Theresa also wanted to get the children into a larger school, which Monrovia, a town of about 300 people, did not have. The family loaded up their Model-T Ford and headed back to Granite City, where they settled close to the center of town. They kept the farm in Indiana and rented it out to a married couple, traveling back and forth in the Model-T to help with the harvests.

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[15] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)." File 4. The lesson was certainly a permanent one, as Goodpaster was 6 years old when it happened and 90 years old when he related it, with great clarity.

[16] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 3, File 1.

Jack and his older brother Walter, two years his senior, both did well in school, although Jack seemed to have a particular knack for learning and was twice bumped up a grade in the local school.[17] His teachers were important influences on him. He recalled his homeroom teacher in junior high school as "a martinet, but I had a lot of respect for her – she used to send me on errands all over the school, and when people asked her why, she said 'two words, dependability and responsibility.'"[18] Jack demonstrated an aptitude for education, and as he passed into high school, he decided on a career in teaching. The people of Granite City, in Goodpaster's memory, took an "immigrant approach" to schooling, and were very serious about the value of education.[19] Goodpaster remembered high school as "a grand experience. I went out for football, never made the varsity, and was never likely to make it, but I enjoyed the rough and tumble."[20] Jack's grades in high school reflected a particular talent in mathematics, but he also excelled in public speaking, "attracted to debating and the rigors of logic and evidence it required."[21] Selected to deliver an oration on Class Day, 28 May 1931, Goodpaster spoke on "Democracy: Its Challenges," perhaps reflecting on the problems brought on by the Great Depression.[22]

[17]Ibid, Disc 1, File 1; "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 4

[18] Ibid.

[19] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 3, File 1.

[20] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 1.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Goodpaster's report cards from High School, a copy of the commencement week program, and various papers from his high school career, Box 1, FF 1, AJG Collection 230.

The Depression hit Granite City during Jack's junior year of high school. Goodpaster recalled that, "It spread like wildfire. Major plants closed down with 2 or 3 days notice, putting their workers out on the street. Within a matter of 2 or 3 weeks there were men standing on the streets begging for food, especially food for their families."[23] His father suffered a one-half pay cut, but kept his job as a conductor, better off than many of the other men in town as the factories and steel plants shuttered their doors. When Jack graduated in the spring of 1931, Granite City was effectively bankrupt, with no funds in the city coffers and a stagnant local economy.[24] The Goodpasters relocated to East St. Louis; Jack prepared to depart for college at McKendree in Lebanon, Illinois, about twenty miles east of St. Louis.[25]

Goodpaster's desire to become a math teacher prompted his desire for college. Teaching at the time required two years of college, a limited teacher certificate and some practical experience, then a final two years at a university to receive an education degree.[26] Jack headed off to McKendree in the fall of 1931 with that goal in mind. He did quite well academically in his first year. He made friends easily, joined a fraternity, and was popular with the girls, many of whom kept in touch from high school.[27] There was perhaps a hint of superiority in the tone of his correspondence as he moved beyond the realm of high school,

[23] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 1.

[24] Granite City, *A History of Granite City - Part Three: The Rise and Fall of a Powerhouse (1896 - 1956 A.D.),* "Granite City, Illinois - Official Website."

[25] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 1, File 2.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Letters from friends: Ethel, Marian, Ruthie, Lucille, and Elizabeth, Box 1, FFs 4&5, AJG Collection 230.

but it quickly dissipated by his sophomore year, perhaps spurred on by the growing financial strain of funding his education.[28] Jack spent the summer between his freshman and sophomore years on the farm in Monrovia, working to "make tuition," an effort that supported his second year at college. His parents helped as much as their tight finances would allow. Jack's career at McKendree ended with his sophomore year when he ran out of money. He finished with characteristically high grades, received a Limited Elementary certificate from St. Clair County to teach, and promptly found himself unemployed.

Lacking the money for more college but hoping to find a teaching job to continue in his chosen vocation, Goodpaster applied across Illinois, but there were no positions available. He tried other routes. Knowing that the military academies offered tuition-free education in return for a term of service, he wrote to Congressmen and Senators seeking an appointment to West Point or the Naval Academy at Annapolis, but the earliest expected vacancy was 1935.[29] With nothing available in education in 1933, and little in other fields, Jack turned to the immediate need to assist the family financially.

He moved back to East St. Louis with his parents and found work in a meatpacking plant, "washing barrels on a big piece of machinery. The idea was to take the used barrel, turn it and thrust it into the turning machine." He remembered that "it made an awful lot of noise, [and] I sang many of the songs that I knew and that have stayed with me over the

[28] Goodpaster's McKendree Grade Reports for his freshman and sophomore years, Box 1, FF 2, AJG Collection 230; Letter, McKendree President Cameron W. Harmon to Jack Goodpaster, 12 July 1932, inquiring if Goodpaster would be able to return due to tight finances, Box 1, FF 4, AJG Collection 230.

[29] Rejection letters for employment, E. St. Louis and Madison County school districts, and the Albert's Teachers Agency in Chicago; Letter, Congressman Edwin Schaeffer, May 1933; Letter, Congressman Walter Nesbit, Dec 1933 in response to Goodpaster's requests for appointments to USMA and USNA, Box 1, FF 5, AJG Collection 230.

years, because the noise was such to drown out any noise I was making."[30] Located near the railroad yards and stockyards, the meatpacking plants of East St. Louis employed thousands of workers even in the Depression. The work required little skill. It was occasionally dangerous, and labor-management relations were never particularly positive.[31] Jack's transition from college student and prospective teacher to laborer was a blow to Theresa Goodpaster. "My mother was very disappointed that I was back in what she called 'heavy shoes.' She had hoped that her family could emerge from that but at the moment our whole aim was to sustain ourselves through this very, very difficult period."[32] Goodpaster joined Local 530 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union, and found himself elected president, most likely due to his education and public speaking skills, "though what it really amounted to was sitting as the chairman at some of their meetings," a position he retained until early 1935.[33] In January 1935, he was laid off in what he later termed a "reduction in forces."[34]

By the time Jack was let go his quest for more education bore fruit. Hearing in early 1934 that an appointment to West Point was available through competitive examination, he took the exam that summer. Jack learned in November that he had secured the appointment.

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[30] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 1.

[31] Thomas Petraitis, "East St. Louis, Illinois: "Hog Capital of the Nation"," http://www.eco-absence.org/esl/petraitis.htm; See also "J. Ogden Armour Testifies", NY Times article, 17 February 1906, page 6; "Missouri Sues to Oust Packers", NY Times article, 21 June 1910, page 5.

[32] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 1.

[33] The work force were mostly recent immigrants from Eastern Europe—a smart local with some education and a similar family background was a logical choice. For further on the union, see David Brody, *The Butcher Workmen: A Study of Unionization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[34] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 1, File 2.

While waiting to depart for West Point, Goodpaster returned to work, finding a job pumping gas until the early summer. Between working at the service station and preparing to depart for the east coast, Jack reviewed the brochure from West Point. He knew West Point produced first-rate civil engineers and that many of its most famous graduates had been engineer officers.[35] His aptitude for mathematics and an appreciation for practical problem solving suggested that he may find engineering rewarding. In his review of the West Point literature, he noticed a statement declaring "the initial training will be rigorous," but he had no real appreciation for how demanding West Point's version of "rigorous" was.[36]

[35] Ibid, Disc 1, Files 1&2; Disc 2, File 1.

[36] Ibid, Disc 2, File 1.

West Point and the Making of an Officer

Goodpaster's appointment to West Point reflected a demographic shift in officer recruiting during the Depression.[37] Earlier, the ranks of the professional officer corps had been drawn from an "old family, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant [Episcopal], rural, upper-middle-class professional background."[38] Goodpaster, raised both Methodist and Catholic, from an urban-industrial area, and whose maternal grandparents had emigrated to the United States in the late 19th century, did not fit the typical profile of a West Point cadet. While his father's position by the 1930s could be considered white-collar, the route to that position was certainly blue-collar. Jack tried to attain white-collar respectability and security by becoming a teacher; stymied by the Depression, he turned to laboring work. The Goodpaster family was probably better off than many other families in East St. Louis during the Depression. Andrew Sr. kept his job, the family still had their car and the farm in Indiana, and the children were either in school or employed. Nevertheless, the Goodpaster family was atypical by comparison to the background of most West Point cadets. Jack was by no means the first cadet with an irregular upbringing to attend the academy, but his selection by competitive exam reflected a gradual decline in the use of West Point appointments as a patronage tool

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[37] Janowitz, *Professional Soldier*, 89. Janowitz argued that "it took the great depression to transform the system."

[38] Ibid, 100. Further, Janowitz argued that for "the son of a less privileged family, coming from a background which was socially atypical, preparation for West Point or Annapolis could be the expression of great personal drive." (112).

for local political machines.[39] His decision to compete for the appointment and then attend West Point also revealed a degree of personal drive and ambition.

Goodpaster traveled by train at the end of June 1935 with several other soon-to-be cadets to West Point. Their instructions required them to report on "1 July 1935, not later than 11:00 a.m.," and suggested that cadets "arrange for a hearty breakfast before reporting as the work immediately following admission is exacting."[40] Goodpaster later recalled it as an "understatement if I ever met one," as the prospective cadets passed through a sally port into the crucible of what was called "beast barracks," or cadet basic training. The complete transition from citizen to apprentice officer was not as sudden, but for Goodpaster, reporting to the adjutant at West Point changed the course of his life in ways he could not possibly have imagined. The "plebes" of the new fourth-class endured a long, hot summer learning how to care for personal equipment, march and conduct close order drill, and fire the rifle.[41] Beast barracks proved to be extremely demanding from the moment the new plebes arrived, but Goodpaster later recalled that they were "so glad to be there, they didn't think twice about" doing what they were told.[42]

Attrition in the class of 1939 revealed a slightly different reality. Between 1934 and 1935 Congress expanded the Academy's enrollment, from 1,378 to 1,964, an increase of 586, with no substantial increase in staff. The addition meant Goodpaster's class, at 708, was far

[39] Notably, Dwight Eisenhower came from a blue collar, Mennonite background and also won his appointment by competitive exam.

[40]"Instructions for cadet candidates authorized to report for admission to the United States Military Academy," Box 1, FF 7, AJG Collection 230.

[41] West Point cadets were designated by classes. Fourth-class was equivalent to freshman, third-class to sophomore, and so on.

[42] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1.

larger than any before. Within the first year, 179 were "discharged for deficiency," another 33 resigned, and 8 more were removed for conduct or disability, for a total of 220 cadets who did not continue into their second year. Of the total, 112 of the "deficient" cadets received their discharges in January 1936, and the rest were gone by the beginning of summer.[43] Goodpaster not only endured the routine harassment of that first summer but thrived, demonstrating a certain strength of character and intellect. While the Academy incorporated both technical training and traditional academics in its inclusive course of study, academic deficiency proved the most common route to dismissal.[44] Success in the classroom opened doors that exceptional marksmanship could not.

Goodpaster understood that a West Point education required a four year commitment of active service in the army. Impressed by the Army Corps of Engineers and its civil engineering tradition, he wanted to serve as an engineer officer. Goodpaster entered the Academy lacking the intention of a lifetime of service in the army, but the initial experience did instill a respect for the values of service and responsibility. Two years at McKendree prepared him academically and his labor and farm experience prepared him for the physical demands of soldiering.[45] Goodpaster was primed by character, education, and experience to excel at the military academy – and he did.

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[43] William D. Conner, "Annual Report of the Superintendent," (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1935), 3; William D. Connor, "Annual Report of the Superintendent," (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1936), 1-2; Jay L. Benedict, "Annual Report of the Superintendent," (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1939), 7.

[44] Historically, Academy attrition rates reflected academic deficiency as a leading cause of dismissal. The class of 1939 was not exceptional in that respect, just in the percentage dismissed.

[45] Form 315 (Employment History), Box 1, FF 7, AJG Collection 230. By the time Goodpaster entered the academy he was 6'2" and 175 lbs.

Those advantages were also helpful in surviving the harassment fourth-class cadets endured. He was twenty when he entered the Academy, a year or more older than his peers, and the screaming of petty tyrants on the parade ground was most likely not as shocking an experience as laboring in an industrial slaughterhouse. His academic prowess earned him some free time to explore other facets of an academy education, but also some animosity from less capable classmates, who remained mired in their studies. Goodpaster joined the cadet choir and glee club, went out for football, and joined the debate team. Even with these extra-curricular activities, he maintained high grades, reflecting a dedication to academic achievement reminiscent of his earlier success at McKendree.[46]

A major inducement for Goodpaster's academic performance was the Academy's system of "branching" officers. Cadets selected the branch of the army (infantry, artillery, engineers, quartermaster, and the like) they wanted to serve in by class rank, which meant a lower ranking reduced the likelihood of gaining their branch choice. Additionally, branches had limited vacancies each year. Traditionally, the top graduates of the Academy selected the elite engineer branch, reflecting the academy's original mission of training artillerists and engineers.[47] Goodpaster knew that the route to the engineers led through the classroom, and applied himself accordingly. By the end of a demanding first semester, he had achieved a high standing on the academic rolls but the initial experience "plunged [him] into a 'storm' that makes any memory of that time a formless blur in my mind."[48]

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[46] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1; West Point, "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets: United States Military Academy for the Academic Year Ending June 30, 1936," (West Point United States Military Academy, 1936) 66, 75.

[47] Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History*, 48-50.

[48] Cadet Goodpaster, "Outstanding Impressions," (The Log, Ship's paper, *USS New York*, 5 July 1937), Box 1, FF 11, AJG Collection 230.

The winter break, when all cadets except the fourth-class and "deficient" upper classmen took holiday leave, was a defining point in Goodpaster's life. West Point in winter was depressing; the school overlooked the frigid Hudson River, exposed to biting winds and the grey stone of the buildings matched the leaden sky. With the majority of the cadets gone, the unfortunate remaining upperclassmen turned to the fourth-class to facilitate their limited opportunities for entertainment. At the time, West Point held organized "cadet hops," or dances, which girls from the surrounding area attended. Fourth-class cadets, with significant restrictions on their freedom and time, were rarely allowed such liberty, but during the winter break of 1935, they were permitted to attend, most likely to provide a sufficient number of cadets to make the events worthwhile.[49] During a hop over that winter break, an upperclassman, Trevor Dupuy, allowed Goodpaster to dance with his date, Dorothy Anderson.[50] Nicknamed "Dossy" because her little brother could not pronounce "Dorothy," she was the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel John Waverly Anderson, the executive officer for the Superintendent, a figure high in the pantheon of senior officers at the academy.[51] Goodpaster's fourth-class status prevented him from seeing her again until the long-suffering fourth-class was "recognized" during graduation week in the late spring. After the first-class graduated, the fourth-class cadets received official recognition as the new third-class, and gained more personal freedom. On 11 July 1936, Goodpaster, a sophomore (or "yearling" in academy parlance), escorted Dossy to a hop. He was smitten, and later recalled "I knew that

[49] Lewis Sorley, *Thunderbolt: General Creighton Abrams and the Army of His Times*, 2nd ed. (Indiana University Press, 2008), 19; General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1.

[50] T.N. Dupuy went on to become a Colonel in the Army and a prolific military historian.

[51] J.W. Anderson was a 1911 graduate of the Naval Academy who requested his commission in the army, a very rare choice.

was where my commitment would be made."[52] Goodpaster and another cadet vied for Dossy Anderson's attention, but Goodpaster had acquired a relatively paltry forty-four demerits over the course of his first year, while the other cadet had more. Demerits required punishment tours and left little time for dating.[53]

West Point maintained a demanding disciplinary system, but cadet-imposed informal discipline could be much harsher. While hazing was forbidden, rigorous "training" punished those who failed to conform. Perhaps the worst case during Goodpaster's tenure at West Point was the racially motivated "silencing" of black cadet Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. in the class of 1936. Davis, ostracized by the Corps of Cadets for the entire four years he spent at the Academy, provided an extreme example of the pressure to conform to cadet standards.[54] Goodpaster certainly knew of the discrimination against Davis, although the Academy's class system effectively separated Davis from the cadets in other classes. Goodpaster's generally amiable disposition enabled him to handle most of the cadet disciplinary issues with equanimity. West Point discipline rarely targeted individuals who conformed to its standards and expectations, and by the end of his first year, Goodpaster emerged a model cadet. He ended the first year ranked second in his class academically, behind his friend Stanley

[52] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1.

[53] West Point's formal discipline system awarded demerits for infractions of regulations. As there was a regulation for virtually every aspect of cadet life, demerits were inevitable, especially for the fourth-class cadets. Once a cadet had acquired a sufficient number of demerits in a single month, he received a punishment tour, which necessitated an hour spent marching in full uniform and rifle on a Wednesday or Saturday afternoon, during their limited free time. Other official disciplinary measures existed, such as confinement, which confined cadets to their place of duty, mess hall, and barracks room, thereby restricting their individual liberty.

[54] Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis Jr., American : An Autobiography*, 1st ed. (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, 2000), 27-28, 31, 35. Silencing was usually reserved for cadets who violated the academy's honor code but escaped dismissal. It rendered the "silenced" cadet invisible to his classmates. Cadets who violated the "silencing" by socializing with the ostracized could make themselves vulnerable to "additional training." In this way cadets could be punished by their peers, and the punishment extended to their friends.

Dziuban, a position he never relinquished over the next three years. Goodpaster excelled in both math and English, did well in both military drawing and tactics, and received his academic stars (uniform insignia worn on the collar as visible indicators of academic prowess) in June 1936.[55]

West Point summers were not free time for cadets, so Goodpaster and his classmates embarked on a summer training schedule that included field maneuvers, encampments, and equestrian training. Working with horses and cavalry sabers conveyed to the cadets that the army they were preparing to join was not a fully modernized force, despite the adoption of the airplane and tank.[56] The academy cadre planned the summer training programs for the cadets, incorporating progressively more advanced instruction in the army's organization, tactics, and weapon systems. Cadets traveled to different army posts around the country and learned infantry tactics in Georgia, artillery and anti-aircraft systems in Virginia, and basic aviation skills at nearby Stewart Field. The training, both in the summer and throughout the academic year, relied heavily on cadet leadership with cadre supervision.

The "yearling," or third-class, provided a pool of personnel for the selection of cadet leaders, once their completion of a year at the academy made them available to assist in running the Corps of Cadets. Yearlings were eligible for corporal rank, the second-class for sergeant stripes, and the first-class formed the cadet officer ranks. The limited positions meant that only the most promising cadets received the opportunities, and responsibilities,

[55]West Point, "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets: United States Military Academy for the Academic Year Ending June 30, 1936," (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1936), 75; West Point, "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets: United States Military Academy for the Academic Year Ending June 30, 1937" (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1937), 53, 60; West Point Memorandum #71-a, 9 June 1936, By order of LTC Buckner, Box 1, FF 11, AJG Collection 230. Academic stars were worn on the collar of the top cadets in each class and signified that the wearer had achieved over 90 percent in each academic field.

[56] Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941* (Belknap Press, 2004), 268-271.

associated with leadership. Indeed, at the time a cadet could complete an Academy education without ever holding a leadership role within the Corps of Cadets. Those selected for leadership positions were the ones the tactical officers thought capable of wielding limited authority, and who had demonstrated some leadership ability. In the summer of 1935, Goodpaster's selection as a cadet corporal served as the first indicator from the tactical officers that they perceived some leadership potential in him.

The second year at West Point went much as Goodpaster's first, but with fewer demerits, slightly better grades, and more time spent with Dossy Anderson. He remained second in the class, with former roommate Stan Dziuban always a small step ahead. Goodpaster participated in more extra-curricular activities, particularly the debate team and the choir, which performed in New York and other cities. Although he later described himself as a "dignified and austere fellow," in reality he had a lively sense of humor, and managed to earn five demerits and ten confinements for throwing a pie plate in the mess hall.[57] Similarly, when the commander of the West Point band induced Goodpaster to demonstrate his singing ability in the mess hall one day, he performed the "Wandering Minstrel" from Gilbert & Sullivan's comic opera "The Mikado," then followed with "Titwillow," a performance that earned him that enduring nickname among his classmates.[58]

Goodpaster made friends easily, was amiable and courteous but typically avoided the limelight. His best friend and roommate for all four years at West Point was Thomas

[57]Memorandum from Cadet Goodpaster to Commandant of Cadets, 7 January 1937, Box 1, FF 11, AJG Collection 230; General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 3, File 2.

[58] Ibid. General Goodpaster, in his late eighties at the time of the interview, delivered a rendition of 'Titwillow' for the interviewers.

Jonathan Jackson Christian, the grandson of Civil War general "Stonewall" Jackson.[59] Goodpaster, Christian, and the other cadets experienced what he described as "learning leadership by osmosis" through the cadet leadership system with an "atmosphere of a particular calling, or sense of service."[60] Goodpaster recalled the challenges of cadet life as part of the gradual process that tactical officers used to inculcate leadership and responsibility, a part of a deliberate program to ready cadets for "a lifetime of service."[61] He certainly did not see it that way all the time, and undoubtedly had some hard days at times, but his grades never faltered, and he rarely earned demerits.

In the spring of 1937, Goodpaster's routine experienced a series of interruptions. The first was particularly unwelcome, as Dossy Anderson moved to Newport, RI, where her father attended the Naval War College. She continued to visit Goodpaster at West Point, arriving by train and staying with friends on the weekends. In late spring 1937, Goodpaster, Dziuban, and eighteen other cadets interviewed for six positions on what was called "the battleship cruise," a naval academy program which took midshipmen and six cadets on a summer training cruise to Europe. The trip would last three months, but promised an adventure overseas, an opportunity to see how the navy operated, and a break from the academy routine.[62]

In early June 1937 both Goodpaster and Stan Dziuban won positions on the cruise and sailed for Europe on the battleship *New York*. In Germany the six West Point cadets

[59] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 1. Christian was killed in his P-51Mustang over France in August 1944.

[60] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1.

[61] Ibid., Disc 3, File 1.

[62] West Point Daily Bulletin May 4, 1937, Box 1, FF 11, AJG Collection 230.

received full liberty and authority to travel.[63] In Hamburg they met with the army attaché, Truman Smith, who advised Goodpaster, "young man, look around you—this is a country going to war."[64] Goodpaster recalled, "As we traveled through Germany in those three weeks, we saw uniforms everywhere, and we saw a militarizing society, and that had a very profound effect on us, because we knew Hitler was calling for an adjustment to the Versailles Treaty."[65] In their first two years at the Academy, the cadets had been aware of the war in China, and Japan's expansive ambitions, while Hitler's growing assertiveness seemed to threaten European stability. The instructors at West Point believed that war in Europe was not far off, and that eventually the United States would be drawn into it. For Goodpaster and his friends, "we had this sense that the world was headed to war—it was a sobering thought."[66] The end of the 1937 battleship cruise brought the West Point cadets back to the grey stone fortress overlooking the Hudson, and Goodpaster returned to the academy, where he passed his third year with his customary high marks and low demerits.[67]

The routine in the Academy contrasted sharply with the international upheaval in the wider world, however, and both cadets and faculty were alert to the increased global

[63] "Liberty" was authorization to leave the ship, full liberty granted a short leave of absence, and half liberty required personnel to return aboard ship by a certain curfew. The midshipmen only received half-liberty and continued to pull standard watches aboard ship.

[64] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 2.

[65] Ibid.; See also Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., *Benjamin O. Davis Jr., American*, 43. Davis's parents remarked on similar sights of uniforms in the summer of 1935. Hitler sought a rollback of the Versailles Treaty provisions, and was emboldened in his efforts by the French failure to prevent Germany from re-occupying the Rhineland in March of 1936.

[66] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, Files 1&2; Disc 3, File 1; Letter from MAJ Truman Smith to Goodpaster, June 24, 1937, Box 2, FF 2, AJG Collection 230.

[67] Ibid., Disc 2, File 2.

tensions, where the "resort to force was very much in evidence."[68] The cadets discussed the situation in Europe often, though they tended to view any coming conflict from a personal viewpoint—prospective pilots emphasized the role of airpower, future infantry officers the role of the ground forces, and the like.[69]

In May, 1938 the Commandant of Cadets, Lieutenant Colonel Charles W. Ryder, selected Goodpaster as the Regimental Adjutant, one of six Cadet Captains in the Corps of Cadets. The Commandant, the officer in charge of cadet military training and daily activities, selected the leaders of the new first-class during graduation week. While academic performance typically had more impact on cadets, "military efficiency and conduct" also provided benchmarks for the Academy cadre, especially in the selection of cadet officers, those first-class cadets responsible for the leadership of the Corps.[70] Cadets lived in an environment of almost continual evaluation in both the classroom and in military training. Assignment as an officer in the Corps, especially as a Cadet Captain, meant the Academy cadre considered the appointee as one of the most promising leaders in the Corps. Leadership positions did not depend on academic ability. In fact, during Goodpaster's first-class year, he and his roommate, Thomas Christian, both served as Cadet Captains; at the time Goodpaster ranked second academically and Christian eighty-first. Stanley Dziuban, academically first in the class, received an assignment as a cadet lieutenant, ranked fifteenth in military efficiency. Tom Smith, the First Captain, or highest leadership position in the Corps, ranked two-hundred and ninety-second academically. Goodpaster's achievement of

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] West Point, "Official Register of the Officers and Cadets, United States Military Academy: For the Academic Year Ending June 30, 1938" (West Point, NY: United States Military Academy Printing Office, 1938), 113.

both high academic standing and an important leadership role demonstrated his exceptional ability both in the classroom and in military training. It also meant that Goodpaster was probably the most well rounded cadet in the class of 1939.

In the fall of 1938, Goodpaster's academic credentials and public speaking ability, honed by years on the debate team, led Colonel Herman Beukema, head of the Department of Economics, Government, and History, to select him as West Point's representative to the Council on Foreign Relations Conference. Beukema chose Goodpaster at the suggestion of First Lieutenant George "Abe" Lincoln, Goodpaster's debate coach and an instructor and acting assistant professor in the department.[71] Goodpaster took a period of instruction and directed reading overseen by Lincoln before attending the conference.

The conference focused on American foreign policy and the Neutrality Act of 1937, the third of four Neutrality Acts passed in the 1930s that restricted the president's control of American foreign policy. Largely the work of isolationist politicians, the Act of 1937 barred American shipment of arms or war material to the belligerent parties of any war.[72] It also prohibited loans or credits to belligerents and proved an inflexible tool for American foreign policy. Participants at the conference included members of the State Department, businessmen, lawyers, and academics—people Goodpaster described afterwards as "men of considerable ability."[73] Students from leading universities also participated. The three day conference produced three perspectives on American neutrality, with advocates for each. One group argued for isolationism and protracted neutrality as traditional American policy, while

[71] Colonel Beukema served as the head of the Department of Economics, Government, and History at West Point from 1930 until 1954, when he was replaced by Colonel George A. Lincoln.

[72] George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), 504-517.

[73] Goodpaster's report for 1LT Lincoln & COL Beukema, undated, Box 2, FF 3, AJG Collection 230.

others countered that neutrality should be abandoned and the U.S. should declare its support for the Western Powers. Goodpaster's group advocated a lifting of neutrality without a commitment to any other party, so as to maintain "freedom of action" in foreign policy.

His report to Colonel Beukema and Lieutenant Lincoln after the conference contained a brief synopsis of events, along with some words of advice for future participants. "Try not to speak too much or too often, but let the others do most of the talking. Pull them gently back into line when they get too far off base. When you take a position on an issue or present a conviction, keep it sober and down-to-earth. Try to keep a 'mobile reserve' of ideas in mind. Don't ever talk till you exhaust them."[74] He recommended that future cadet participants "watch [the guest speakers] and pick up on their methods. Note that everything they say has a clear purpose—a conclusion to be drawn."[75] The conference served as Goodpaster's introduction to serious foreign policy discussion outside the constraints of the debate team or the classroom; his performance elicited the respect of other participants and the panel members, who asked him to prepare the position paper for his group. Goodpaster's report to Lincoln and Beukema revealed not only a mature appreciation for policy debate, but perceptive insight on how to best communicate his ideas. Lincoln later used some of Goodpaster's ideas in a paper for the Council on Foreign Affairs Instructor's Conference.[76] Goodpaster's performance at the conference almost certainly encouraged Lincoln and Beukema to keep track of the cadet after graduation. At the time, West Point professors

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., Program, Council on Foreign Affairs, Conference for Instructors, 20-22 April 1939, Box 2, FF 3, AJG Collection 230.

routinely noted the best performing cadets in their fields and sought to have them reassigned to the Academy after a period of service in the line army.

Despite Goodpaster's involvement with what was still an extra-curricular commitment, his grades never faltered, and in the fall of 1938, with the other 455 cadets remaining in the first class, he chose his branch of service. He and the other cadets in the top fifty academic rankings chose the engineers, at the time the army's elite branch, which left only a choice of duty stations to determine their initial assignments. Class rank also determined the selection process for duty stations, yet another factor to motivate cadets in their studies.

Goodpaster and Dossy Anderson, by then firmly set on marriage immediately following graduation, wanted an assignment to the Philippines. Overseas assignments like the Philippines, Hawaii, and Panama offered not only better opportunities for advancement, but also better training due to their larger garrisons.[77] To Goodpaster's disappointment the only lieutenant position in the engineer regiment in the Philippines was filled so he opted for the Panama Canal Zone instead.[78] He and the rest of the class of 1939 graduated on 12 June, received their diplomas from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and departed the Academy as second lieutenants.[79]

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[77] Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *The Western Hemisphere: Guarding The United States And Its Outposts*, ed. Stetson Conn, United States Army in World War II (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1964), 60.; see also Coffman, *The Regulars*, 352-355. In the 1930s officers assigned overseas were generally considered better poised for advancement because they were more likely to participate in large training exercises, construction projects, and the like.

[78] It was perhaps fortunate - the highest ranked cadet of the class of 1940 branched engineer and secured a lieutenant billet in the Philippines, where he was killed in action on Bataan- the importance of "chance" was not lost on Goodpaster.

[79] Benedict, "Annual Report of the Superintendent," 7.

For Andrew Goodpaster, the four years at West Point proved a truly transformative period. He originally viewed the Academy as an escape from the Depression, and an opportunity to continue his education, but after four years of exposure to West Point he had instead found a new calling. The Academy's emphasis on tradition and individual responsibility resonated with Goodpaster and reinforced the values his parents had instilled in him. In this way the Academy succeeded in its mission to inculcate cadets with a sense of responsibility and commitment to service. West Point accomplished that task by enforcing a highly normative lifestyle with both official and unofficial codes of conduct. While some cadets expressed their individuality by flaunting regulations and walking a thin line between discipline and dismissal, others, like Goodpaster, chose to conform to the established standards and excel within their constraints.[80] Goodpaster's success was not only due to his natural intelligence, ambition, and character, although these were critically important. His relationship with Dossy Anderson almost certainly helped him, although he may have been only dimly aware of it at the time. He was a topic of conversation in the Anderson house, and most likely between Colonel Anderson and other officers at the academy. Such discussion would have widened the circle of senior officers aware of Goodpaster's potential. Also, his relationship with Dossy helped to acculturate him to the social aspects of the officer corps. He spent his limited free time visiting at the Anderson home, and thereby gained both from Dossy's company and her family's social environment. All of these aspects of Academy life helped to shape Andrew Goodpaster over the course of his four years at West Point, and he emerged as an intelligent, ambitious young lieutenant, excited about his prospects in the military service, somewhat concerned for the state of international affairs, but generally quite

[80] For an example of limited rebellion, see Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: Soldier and President* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 24-28.

happy with his choice of a military career. There is no way he could have known at that early stage just what that career was going to mean for himself, his family, or the nation.[81]

[81] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 2, File 1.

World War Two and the Testing of an Officer

Goodpaster and Dossy married on August 28, 1939. They departed on a honeymoon drive to Illinois to visit his family just before Germany invaded Poland.[82] After their brief honeymoon they left the United States on an army transport ship in September, arriving in Panama in the first week of October 1939.[83]

Goodpaster reported to the 11th Engineer Regiment at Fort Clayton in the Panama Canal Zone. He secured quarters for himself and Dossy and was immediately sent off on his first mission as an engineer lieutenant, serving as the officer in charge of new recruit training. Goodpaster and a "spiffy and spoony" non-commissioned officer (NCO) spent six weeks at a cantonment teaching the newly arrived engineer enlisted men the inner workings of the engineer trade.[84] In 1939 there were no Officer Basic Courses to teach the fundamentals of each branch to new officers, an education that their first unit had to provide. Assigning newly commissioned lieutenants to supervise recruit training was one way of doing so, as the officer became proficient by observing and participating in the training. While Goodpaster was technically in charge of the training, in reality he was as much a student as the rest of the men. He knew it, as did the NCO, who never let on that he was in fact teaching the young officer the basics of military engineering. Army engineer units performed a wide range of

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[82] Ibid., Disc 3, File 2; Honeymoon planning notes, AJG Collection 230, Box 3, FF 1.

[83] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 3, File 2; Disc 4, File 1.

[84] Ibid., "Spiffy and Spoony" described an individual who's uniform and military bearing were admirable. Goodpaster's impression of the NCO was that of an 'old-Army,' long-service NCO.

construction duties, from framing and finishing buildings to constructing bridges, roads, and airfields. They also had responsibilities as combat engineers for clearing minefields, repairing bridges and roads under fire, and ensuring the army's mobility in the attack. Goodpaster learned more than just how to build structures and defensive positions; he took from the experience a profound respect for the knowledge and professionalism of long service NCOs. While he was exposed to NCOs at West Point and received instruction on how officers and NCOs were supposed to interact, the experience of working with NCOs in the "real army," away from the confines of West Point and focused on practical problem solving was a part of any officer's training.[85]

Upon reporting to the regiment's headquarters in the spring of 1940, Goodpaster found that his position as a new lieutenant and former cadet adjutant made him the primary candidate to serve as the regimental adjutant: the overworked, under-appreciated, and generally much maligned assistant to the commander, and master of all paperwork.[86] Once into the position in May 1940, he made the most of the long hours and acquired the skills of preparing and managing the regiment's paperwork as well as handling personnel assignments.

After a year learning the inner workings of the regiment first hand Goodpaster rejoined Company A, 11th Engineers as a platoon leader, where he became absorbed in a sequence of projects involving road and bridge construction, as well as airfield expansion and improvement. He participated in a number of engineer reconnaissance projects, prepared

[85] Ibid., Disc 3, File 2; Disc 4, File 1.

[86] At the time the performance of cadets at the academy, including proficiency scores in various subjects, leadership positions held, etc. were all a matter of public record, and published in the official register annually. Goodpaster's commander had access to it and to his classmates, four of whom reported to the 11th with Goodpaster.

estimates for construction jobs, and in general went about learning as much as he could about military engineering and command. Meanwhile, the demand for engineers in the Canal Zone continued to increase as the U.S. military buildup overtaxed the capacity of the existing facilities.[87]

Between the beginning of 1939 and the spring of 1941, the army garrison in the Canal Zone grew from 13,500 men to over 21,000, an expansion indicative of the strategic importance of the Panama Canal, the fastest and safest method for civilian shipping and naval vessels transiting between the Atlantic and Pacific.[88] The influx of units into the Canal Zone busied Goodpaster and his men with building temporary barracks, mess halls, latrines, and offices. They also worked on airfields, lengthening runways and building aircraft revetments. The intense construction and growth provided Goodpaster with on-the-job training and an extensive education in engineering skills.

By the fall of 1941, Goodpaster's technical competence and leadership ability were cause for Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Frech to give him command of Company E, 11th Engineers. Goodpaster was still a first lieutenant at the time, while company commands were normally held by a captain. Frech most likely lacked experienced officers, as more senior officers returned to the United States to supervise the new engineer units forming as part of the general troop build-up then underway.[89]

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[87] Engelman and Fairchild, *Guarding The United States And Its Outposts*, 315-316.

[88] Ibid., 301, 315. The width and depth of the Panama Canal also determined the maximum hull size of all US Navy vessels built before and during the war.

[89] Mark A. Stoler, *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century* (Twayne Publishers, 1989), 69-79. The buildup of troops prior to American entry into WWII was largely the work of General Marshall, who argued after war broke out in Europe that the U.S "needed to put its house in order."

While command of a company imposed new demands and long hours, it was another learning experience. Goodpaster found himself involved in such disparate activities as counseling junior officers on financial failings, sitting as a board member for a court-martial of an officer, investigating a soldier's death in an accident, and reorganizing the Regimental Motor Pool. Yet the Goodpasters continued to enjoy a peacetime social life, making friends on the post at Fort Clayton, and seeing former classmates stationed there.[90] On the afternoon of 7 December 1941, Goodpaster and Dossy were golfing on the Fort Clayton course when one of their friends called them over to his house by the fairway to report the Pearl Harbor attack. Goodpaster's first reaction to the radio report was, "that it was some kind of Orson Welles thing," referring to the famous radio show broadcast of *War of the Worlds* in October of 1938 that had spawned a scare among many Americans because of its news-bulletin format.[91] He soon realized it was no hoax, and within minutes the post was on alert to repel an expected attack from the Pacific side of the Isthmus.

Company E received its orders that night: to construct a cantonment to inter Japanese civilians in the Canal Zone, who had been rounded up during the day and confined in the Panama City jail. The company headed out to the appointed site near the Atlantic mouth of the Canal. The initial instructions were to build for 250 inhabitants, which then became 750, and within a week, 1800, as Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S. and the internment camps were expanded accordingly. The engineers used the internees to help build the camps; Goodpaster later recalled that they seemed to prefer construction work to sitting in the jail in Panama City. After the first camp was done Company E built a second some thirty miles

[90] Coffman, *The Regulars*, 352. In Panama, sailing, fishing, golf, and tennis were popular pastimes.

[91] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 4, File 1.

away. The interred civilians spent several months in the camps before being shipped to the U.S.[92]

The Canal Zone remained tense, and newspapers carried stories of Japanese aircraft carrier sightings on the horizon. Perimeter guards fired at shadows while rumors of sabotage rings prompted ever tighter security around the canal and locks. After two months on alert the engineers began training new engineer companies for airfield construction. Speed and resourcefulness were the key requirements for engineer officers as the pace of construction was unrelenting. In addition to the press of construction, Goodpaster also had to manage the evacuation of civilians and family members, including Dossy. She stayed as long as she could, while larger families were shipped home, but eventually the order came, and she left Panama in May 1942, four and a half months pregnant.[93]

After Dossy's departure, Goodpaster, recently promoted to captain, devoted most of his time to one construction project after another. In the evenings he studied tactics using books from the library, particularly General George C. Marshall's edited work, *Infantry in Battle*, a book designed to get officers to think pragmatically about tactics. The engineer regiment reinforced Goodpaster's study program by initiating a series of classes, practical exercises, and tests, focused on the secondary role of combat engineers as infantry.[94] It was an education Goodpaster later put to good use in Italy.

By late summer 1942 tensions eased in the Canal Zone. New radar stations, defensive emplacements, and the troop buildup diminished the likelihood of attack. Goodpaster

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[92] Ibid., Disc 4, File 2.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Test Papers, May 1942, Box 3, FF 7, AJG Collection 230.

requested leave to return home for the birth of his child in September. He had voluntarily extended his overseas tour in Panama prior to the outbreak of war and had not taken leave in over thirty-four months.[95] The regimental commander instead re-assigned Goodpaster to the newly formed 390th Engineer Regiment at Camp Claiborne, Louisiana, which allowed Goodpaster to return to the states, take leave and see Dossy, and then remain stateside for at least a brief period.[96]

Goodpaster left the Canal Zone at the end of August 1942, and en route to his new duty station, visited with Dossy and his first child, Susan. On reporting to Camp Claiborne at the end of September he became the executive officer (XO) of the 390th Engineer Regiment and received a promotion to major less than a month later.[97] Except for Goodpaster and the regimental commander, Lieutenant Colonel William Winslow, every other officer in the outfit was a Second Lieutenant.[98] The inexperience of the unit's officer complement was a stark indicator of the rapid and massive army expansion, so accelerated by 1942 that cadets were graduated early from West Point, and civilians with college degrees or simply officer "aptitude" rushed through officer training courses.[99]

The 390th was a shock for Goodpaster for another reason. It was organized as an all black outfit, but a lack of black officers meant the officers were all white, with black enlisted

[95] Request for Emergency Leave, 17 August 1942, AJG Collection 230, Box 3, FF 7.

[96] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 5, File 1; Headquarters, Panama Canal Department, Special Orders No. 224, 18 August 1942, AJG Collection 230, Box 3, FF 7.

[97] The XO of a unit is the second in command, assists the unit commander in planning and administration, and overseas the unit's staff and logistics operations.

[98] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," File 2. Winslow was also the son of the former Chief of Engineers.

[99] Headquarters, 390th Engineers, Special Orders No. 25, October 2, 1945, AJG Collection 230, Box 3, FF 7; Crackel, *West Point*, 209-211.

men and NCOs. The bulk of the junior enlisted men came from the South, the officers from both the north and the south, and the majority of the NCOs from the north. Friction between the northern NCOs and the southern enlisted men increased command problems, occasionally exacerbated by white officers who embraced the Jim Crow regulations on post.[100] Goodpaster was not naïve about the nature of the segregated army; if nothing else, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.'s experience at West Point had revealed the prejudice within the officer corps. His experience in Louisiana, however, was marked by a realization of the dangerous nature of race relations in the South, exemplified in the regimental commander's refusal to allow the enlisted men to go into town without the regiment's own military police as escorts to prevent incidents with the local whites.

In February 1943, Goodpaster departed for the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas for the "requisite training for divisional command and General Staff positions."[101] The abbreviated nine week course distilled the essential lessons of the pre-war nine month school. Halfway through the course, he received orders reassigning him to the newly formed 48th Engineer Battalion (Combat), part of the 1108th Engineer Group, at Camp Gruber Oklahoma.[102] Goodpaster's tenure in the 390th thus lasted only four months, but the experience soured him on segregation for the remainder of his life.[103]

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[100] See Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) 138-143; Ulysses Lee, *The Employment Of Negro Troops* (University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 374.

[101] Stewart, ed., *The United States Army in a Global Era, 1917-2003*, 58.

[102] 2nd Headquarters, Special Troops, Special Orders #64, 13 March 1943, Box 3, FF 11, AJG Collection 230.

[103] Goodpaster was likely reassigned because the 390th transferred from Army Ground Forces control to that of the Services of Supply (ASF) on 9 February 1943. Typically, transfer from AGF to ASF meant the unit would be used as a labor force. The 390th managed to escape that fate, eventually passed deployment certification and served in Europe.

Upon graduating from the Staff School, Goodpaster proceeded to join the 48th "in the maneuver area," a large part of northern Louisiana used for field training exercises.[104] When he arrived in April he assumed command of the battalion and thereafter concentrated on preparing it for combat, as the 48th was scheduled for deployment overseas.[105] The battalion participated in a series of exercises, including one in which Goodpaster was captured while conducting a reconnaissance forward of the front line.[106] He was generally pleased with the battalion's performance. It was a new unit, leavened with some long service NCOs, and the men were happy to get a West Pointer in command.[107] While it may seem counter-intuitive that the men would be happy at that, the 48th Engineers were extremely short of experienced and qualified officers, so getting an Academy graduate with some command experience may have served to bolster unit morale and confidence. As the battalion prepared to leave Oklahoma, its destination changed. The original plan for deployment had the 48th assigned to the United Kingdom, where they were to meet their equipment and participate in the cross-channel invasion of France. Instead, a change in American strategy diverted many units, including the 48th Engineers, to the Mediterranean.

The Allied decision to postpone the invasion of France, made at a strategy conference in May 1943, created military and political problems for the Western Allies. The Soviet Union, hard pressed by German advances, continued to insist that the Allies open a "Western Front" to force Germany to split its forces. The British advocated an invasion of Italy to

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[104] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 5, File 2.

[105] 48th Engineer BN, General Order #2, 14 April 1943, Box 4, FF 1, AJG Collection 230.

[106] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 5, File 2.

[107] Ibid.

remove that country from the war as soon as possible, while American planners sought a cross-Channel invasion of France as the quickest way to end the war in Europe. The two parties finally agreed to an invasion of Sicily in the summer of 1943 with a further invasion of Italy at the discretion of the theater commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower. American strategists also secured a firm commitment from the British for an invasion of France in the spring of 1944. In the meantime, the strategic investment in an Italian campaign required the diversion of units, including the 48th Engineers, to the Mediterranean Theater of Operations.[108]

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The battalion left Camp Gruber, Oklahoma for the East Coast, where the men boarded ships for Africa. Upon arrival, the battalion began an intensive training period to prepare for combat in Italy, including operating a British mobile bridging system that they later used to great effect in Italy. They practiced working at night to avoid being targeted by German artillery and refreshed their training on laying and removing mines.

On arrival at Naples in September, Goodpaster's unit joined the U.S. VI Corps, and continued training. First combat came at the Volturno River north of Naples, where the battalion laid a pontoon bridge for the French Expeditionary Force. There came the first casualties, a sobering event for Goodpaster, who always visited the wounded every Sunday in the hospital, a practice that "hit harder in a way than when [he] had heard a troop had been killed."[109] Through the fall of 1943, the 48th supported the VI Corps's approach to Monte

[108] Rick Atkinson, *The Day of Battle: The War in Sicily and Italy, 1943-1944*, 1st ed. (Henry Holt and Co., 2007), 7, 15, 23-24; Mark A. Stoler, *Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance, and U.S. Strategy in World War II* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 103-104, 114-116, 120-121.

[109] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 6, File 1&2.

Cassino, a town at the entrance to the Liri Valley and the best route to Rome. Strong German defensive positions, part of the "Gustav Line," blocked the Allied advance north, and the terrain and weather combined to make the fighting particularly brutal.[110] The battalion's mission, to maintain the road network and bridges in the VI Corps area, proved difficult because of frequent rain and flooding.

In November 1943, Fifth Army transferred Goodpaster's battalion to II Corps. Their first task was to turn a five-mile stretch of railroad track into a tank road. The Germans destroyed the main roads as they retreated up the peninsula, forcing engineer units like Goodpaster's to improvise routes for tanks and trucks to get to the front lines.[111] The battalion completed the mission in less than two weeks, under heavy shelling and occasional air raids. Goodpaster's executive officer was evacuated after his jeep was strafed by a German fighter, forcing Goodpaster to operate without an XO for a brief period. Completing the road required his entire unit and more than a dozen separate bridging operations, mostly conducted at night to avoid German artillery. "It was there that the grit and guts of men like Col. Goodpaster and CPT Van Campen inspired us," one NCO remembered.[112] The mountainous terrain favored the defense, allowing the Germans to prepare effective positions and pre-register their artillery. Under observation from the high ground, working in the open became exceedingly dangerous for the Americans.

Following the completion of the tank road, the battalion joined an armored infantry task force in the drive to take Mount Porchia, one of the last pieces of significant terrain

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[110] Chester Starr, ed., *From Salerno to the Alps: A History of the Fifth Army, 1943-1945* (Infantry Journal, 1948), 47-48

[111] See Atkinson, *The Day of Battle*, 251-253, "it soon became evident that Italy would be a battle of engineers."

[112] Letter from T/SGT William Smukler, 2 August 1944, Box 4, FF 2, AJG Collection 230.

before Monte Cassino.[113] On 6 January 1944, the task force commander committed the battalion as infantry on the left flank of Mt. Porchia, while the 6th Armored Infantry struggled to take and hold the high ground.[114] The task force's left flank came unhinged and the 48th was the only available unit to fill the gap. The task force commander's call to the 1108th Engineer Group that evening indicated the ferocity of the fighting, as he was "sorry he must commit the 48th Engineers as infantry because they are the best damned engineers [he had] seen."[115] The fighting was intense, and casualties were high. Wounded early in the fight, Goodpaster helped one of the infantry battalion commanders organize the defense, and then assisted in evacuating the other commander when he was struck in the head by mortar fire. The battalion held for two days and three nights against German counter-attacks, and received the Presidential Unit citation for its actions. The intensity of the fighting was reflected in the high awards for valor: one Medal of Honor, three Distinguished Service Crosses, twenty-one Silver Stars (one of which was Goodpaster); and two Bronze Stars.[116] Goodpaster's self-study of infantry tactics, begun in Panama, paid off on the slopes of Mt. Porchia.

The battalion pulled back for two days following the fight at Porchia, then went into action again on the approach to Monte Cassino, the lynchpin of "the Gustav Line" at the

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[113] Starr, *From Salerno to the Alps*, 73-76.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Phone call from C/S TFA to CDR/1108th ENG GRP, 2000 [8 p.m.] 6 January 1944, quoted in History of the 1108th Engineer Group, 20 March 1945, Box 4, FF 12, AJG Collection 230.

[116] Brief History of the 48th Engineer BN; Special Orders #9, Award of the Silver Star, II Corps Headquarters, In the Field, 23 January 1944, Box 4, FF 2, AJG Collection 230; Stanley Dziuban, "The Engineer Combat Battalion in the Infantry Role," *Mil Engineer* December (1944): 401-403; General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 6, File 2; Starr, *From Salerno to the Alps*, 76.

mouth of the Liri Valley. From 20-22 January 1944, the 36th Infantry Division attempted to assault across the Rapido River, but took over 1600 casualties with no success. The II Corps continued in the attack, attempting to cross farther north on the Rapido. The sodden plains around the river bogged down both men and tanks in thick mud under continuous observation and fire from German positions on the far side of the river. The long and difficult approaches to the river forced the engineers to construct a series of "corduroy" roads over the marsh, but the tanks destroyed the corduroys and the attack remained stalled south of the river.[117]

In the early hours of 29 January 1944, General Charles Ryder, commander of the 34th Infantry Division, told Goodpaster, then the acting commander for the 1108th Engineer Group, to find a way to get tanks across the river. Ryder was the Commandant of Cadets who had selected Goodpaster as a Cadet Captain only five years earlier. The Germans had destroyed a bridge over the Rapido northeast of Cassino and used the rubble to divert the watercourse, thereby flooding the approaches to the town. Goodpaster and some of his officers, knowing the corduroy roads would be a gamble for tanks, planned to use the riverbed south of where the Germans had diverted the river as a tank crossing. The planned route was some 1500 yards long from the entrance by the destroyed bridge to the exit, an embankment immediately north of Cassino. The officers set out before first light to prepare the crossing. A foot reconnaissance found it passable for tanks. A team of engineers used explosive charges to clear debris from the riverbed as Goodpaster took others the length of the route, clearing anti-tank mines as they went. While Goodpaster had been captured conducting a similar reconnaissance when training in Louisiana, on this occasion he returned

[117] Ibid., 90-97. "Corduroy" roads were made by dumping material into the marsh for vehicles to drive over. Typically the engineers used logs or railroad ties, creating a ridged texture, hence "corduroy." See also Atkinson, *The Day of Battle*, 330-350.

safely to U.S. lines, found the 756th Tank Battalion, and led it down the route. Driven by a sense of personal responsibility for his plan and committed to its success, Goodpaster's clear-headed command of the operation proved decisive. Combined with a measure of individual courage, Goodpaster's leadership succeeded in getting the first Allied tanks across the Rapido.[118]

Only four days later, on the evening of 2 February 1944, the German artillery barrage struck near Goodpaster's battalion staff and sprayed shrapnel through the group. Unlike his first wounds, "relatively minor flesh wounds," those inflicted by the artillery were severe. He was evacuated back to the hospital, where the surgeons discovered shell fragments had punched through his right elbow and caused extensive damage to the joint and arm. By then, he knew he would not return to his battalion, a "trying moment, to realize that had come to an end."[119]

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[118] Starr, *From Salerno to the Alps*, 103; Headquarters, Mediterranean Theater of Operations, General Orders 28, 29 January 1946, Award of the Distinguished Service Cross, Box 4, FF 6, AJG Collection 230; General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 6, File 2. Goodpaster's version of the story made the crossing of the Rapido seem like no more than a walk down the streambed, with the exception of the "sounds like popcorn" as German anti-personnel mines detonated under the tank treads; Letter, LTC A.J. Goodpaster to MAJ Walker B. Sorrell, 4 October 1945, Box 4, FF 6, AJG Collection 230. Goodpaster told Sorrell he did not so much disregard the danger as he was too "concerned with getting the tanks across and did not really have time to think about it." See also Robert W. Porter, "Interviews with General Robert W. Porter, USA Retired," interview by Lieutenant Colonel John N. Sloan, 1981, 293-294., USAWC/USAMHI Senior Officer Oral History Program. Porter provided a detailed explanation of the technical engineering basis for the crossing of the Rapido, particularly the rock bed of the river and Goodpaster's part in getting the tanks across. See also Atkinson, *The Day of Battle*, 402.

[119] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 7, File 1; Proceedings of Disposition Board, 36th General Hospital, 27 March 1944, Box 4, FF 3, AJG Collection 230.

Goodpaster's evacuation from Italy ended not only his combat in World War II, but also his traditional engineer officer's career path.[120] He left the hospital in July 1944 and headed east to North Carolina to take command of an Engineer Group bound for Europe. A War Department message reached him en route to the East Coast cancelling his command assignment and ordering him to report to Washington, D.C. for service at the War Department's Operations Division, or OPD. His response of "ah, hell…" signified his understanding of both the challenges ahead and the probable loss of his command assignment.[121] Referred to as "General Marshall's Washington Command Post," OPD was the premier planning agency for the American war effort, responsible for the top level planning and coordination necessary for conducting a war in two theaters ten thousand miles apart.[122]

Goodpaster's selection for service with OPD was no accident, something he discovered when he reported to the Pentagon in August 1944. Assigned to the Strategy and Policy section (S&P), Goodpaster found that his new boss was none other than his old economics instructor and debate coach from West Point, Colonel George "Abe" Lincoln. Lincoln, also an engineer officer, had learned through the informal network of engineer

[120] New Lieutenants served as platoon leaders and battalion staff officers before promotion to Captain and company command, followed by promotion to Major and staff assignments. Successful Majors reached Lieutenant Colonel and battalion command, followed by assignment as a District Engineer or a Group command as a Colonel.

[121] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 7, File 2. If Goodpaster had been able to take command of the engineer Group and take it to Europe, he may have been able to achieve the rank of Colonel before the end of the war. It was highly unlikely to happen in a staff position.

[122] John D. Millett, "The War Department in World War II," *The American Political Science Review* 40, no. 5 (October 1946): 875-877; Ray S. Cline, *Washington Command Post: The Operations Division* (Center of Military History, 2003), 118-119, 204-205.

wives that Goodpaster had been released from the hospital.[123] Lincoln was searching for bright young officers to replenish the pool of planners in OPD. Due to a War Department directive issued in August 1944, regular army officers who had not served overseas since 7 December 1941 would be released from the staff following two years of duty. The directive ensured that experienced officers were available for battalion command assignments, a requirement that became ever more urgent in the wake of the initial landings at Normandy and the breakout through France. It also served to prevent officers from avoiding the war by staying in Washington. In OPD the impact was significant, as twenty-nine officers in important strategy positions would leave for Europe or the Pacific by the end of 1944.

The director of OPD, Major General Thomas Handy, wanted "regulars who have proven themselves in active theaters" as replacements.[124] Goodpaster fit the description. More importantly, however, Lincoln knew and respected Goodpaster for his intellect and practical approach to problem solving. Because the army lacked a training program for strategic planners, OPD selected officers based on recommendations from field commanders and the personal knowledge of OPD personnel.[125] Officers chosen for OPD typically had to learn their jobs as they did them. Lincoln's status as an engineer officer, combined with the

[123] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," Video File. Lincoln's wife, Frankie, was living in Denver at the time along with many other engineer wives whose husbands were overseas; she was a friend of Dossy Goodpaster's.

[124] MG Handy to LTG Devers, quoted in Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 199. "Regulars" referred to officers with commissions in the Regular Army, RA, as opposed to a commission in the Army of the United States, AUS. "Regulars" were generally West Point graduates and professional officers, while AUS officers typically received wartime commissions after completing an abbreviated course in leadership and tactics.

[125] Letter of 18 May 1945, LTC A.J. Goodpaster to LTC Stanley Dziuban, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence, 11 Nov 1944 - 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230. Goodpaster told Dziuban that although he had "submitted your name when asked to designate the most capable officers I knew, you were in actual fact designated by five other officers as well, including your Theater Commander."

tendency for top West Point graduates to select the engineer branch, put a disproportionate number of engineer officers in OPD.[126]

Goodpaster tried hard to get out of the assignment, telling Lincoln, "I can only stay a short time - maybe six months. There's a command waiting for me in Europe."[127] Lincoln's response, to "forget it and get to work," dashed Goodpaster's hopes.[128] Lincoln's refusal to release him almost certainly meant Goodpaster would not be promoted to Colonel before the end of the war. For an ambitious, combat experienced young officer, the realization must have been disappointing. His friend and West Point classmate, Stanley Dziuban, also tried to evade the long arm of Lincoln, to no avail.[129] Goodpaster wrote to Dziuban to break the bad news. "I am afraid that unless an act of God intervenes you will join the unhappy group in OPD. I spoke to General Lincoln (the ex-Economics instructor) about it and the gist of his reply was 'too bad.'"[130] Goodpaster was one of the first of the new staff officers, but was soon joined by others whom Lincoln pulled into OPD, despite their best efforts to avoid the assignment. Notwithstanding his initial disappointment, Goodpaster soon realized that he had been granted a "marvelous opportunity, a chance to see outstandingly able men at work, and how they did things."[131]

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[126] Letter, LTC A.J. Goodpaster to LTC H.L. Richey, 6 January 1945, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence 11 Nov 1944 – 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[127] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," Video File.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Letter, A.J. Goodpaster to LTC H.L. Richey, 6 January 1945, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence 11 Nov 1944 – 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230; Ibid, RCA Radiogram, 12 May 1945.

[130] Letter, A.J. Goodpaster to LTC Stan Dziuban, 18 May 1945, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence 11 Nov 1944 – 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[131] Ibid; Letter of 6 January 1945, LTC A.J. Goodpaster to LTC H.L. Richey, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence, 11 Nov 1944 - 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230; Letter of 18 May 1945, LTC A.J.

OPD helped formulate inter-service and international policy, directed the army's operations, and maintained oversight of all army activity in the U.S. and the overseas theaters. Inside OPD, Lincoln's S&P was responsible for synthesizing military and foreign policy primarily by preparing position papers.[132] The S&P section served as the primary political-military planning agency for the army, while Lincoln himself served as the "main link between the working echelons of the Army staff system and the joint and combined committee system" as the army planner.[133] The Joint Staff was the top echelon of U.S. wartime planning, where the army, navy, and army air corps attempted to achieve consensus on planning issues. The Combined Staff was the international U.S.-British staff that synchronized strategic requirements between the two nations. As the army planner in S&P, Lincoln had "an intimate knowledge of what the [Army] Chief of Staff [General George C. Marshall] thought on important issues."[134] OPD held the responsibility for reviewing all policy issues that went to Marshall, or were intended for presentation to the Joint or Combined Chiefs of Staff, which put Goodpaster and his fellow planners in regular contact with the Chief of Staff and with Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson.

One of Goodpaster's first projects in S&P illustrated the political-military nature of the planner's work. Lincoln directed him to draft a response to a British proposal for "light operations across the Adriatic against the Dalmatian coast." The "light operations" referred

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Goodpaster to LTC Stanley Dziuban, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department Correspondence, 11 Nov 1944 - 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[132] David Fautua, "An Army For the 'American Century': The Origins of the Cold War U.S. Army, 1949-1959" (PhD Dissertation, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2006), 149; John W. Masland and Laurence I. Radway, *Soldiers and Scholars: Military Education and National Policy* (Princeton U.P., 1957), 14.

[133] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 203.

[134] Ibid., 244.

to amphibious assault landings at Split, Sibenic, and Zadar on the Yugoslavian coast. The proposal was British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's pet project, but one the American Joint Chiefs had no intention of supporting, in the belief that any actions across the Adriatic into Yugoslavia would only detract from the allied main effort in France, which had by then succeeded in pushing the German army across the Seine River and liberating Paris.[135]

Goodpaster's experience in Italy was at the forefront of his mind as he considered the problems with the British proposal. All three landing sites had narrow roads leading off the beaches and up steep escarpments. The intelligence available suggested that the Germans would be able to reinforce the landing areas far faster than the allied forces would be able to move inland. Goodpaster determined that any force landing on the shore would be confronted with the same problems he had so recently experienced on the Italian peninsula.[136] His draft paper reflected his feelings about such an attempt "in rather florid language." Lincoln's response was an important learning point for the new planner and illustrative of the care required in analyzing military issues with international political implications. He told Goodpaster that General Marshall, for whom the response was being drafted, "did not wish to mock Mr. Churchill, now go clean this up!"[137] The experience taught Goodpaster that he would have to be careful not to allow personal experiences to color his analysis of strategic problems.

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[135] Stoler, *Allies and Adversaries*, 171-172. See also *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1944* (Washington, DC.: Dept. of State., 1966), especially Volume IV, documents 1334-1336, 1339-1340, 1405, which illustrate continued British efforts to influence events in Yugoslavia and American resistance to those efforts.

[136] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," Video File.

[137] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 9, File 1.

As one of the newest planners, Goodpaster looked to the more experienced members of the S&P to learn how to plan strategic level operations. He worked with some of the best military thinkers in the army, men like Lincoln, Colonel Charles "Tick" Bonesteel, Colonel Dean Rusk, and Colonel James McCormack, all of whom were former Rhodes Scholars and very focused on political-military issues.[138] Goodpaster also saw how senior army officers and civilians operated at the highest levels of the War Department.

Goodpaster learned to appreciate the approach favored by Marshall, who told the planners, "If you can't put the central issues on one page, you haven't thought it through enough," a philosophy of staff work that sought to distill the key elements of strategic problems and avoid unproductive "essay contests" among the staff.[139] Marshall also insisted that OPD not attempt to micromanage the war in the theaters, but instead serve to coordinate theater efforts and provide resources to the theater commanders. One way he accomplished the task was by requiring OPD staff officers to communicate with the theater staffs and make sure the OPD plans were understood and acceptable to the subordinate commanders. Marshall frequently asked "What does General Eisenhower think about this?" when staff officers came by with plans for Europe, or invoked General Douglas Macarthur's name in the case of the Pacific.[140]

The daily interaction with these men and the variety of projects the S&P dealt with provided a learning environment radically different from anything Goodpaster had previously experienced in his career. Between his arrival at OPD in August 1944 and the end of the war

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[138] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 329; Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford University Press, 1993), 29.

[139] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 9, File 1.

[140] Ibid.

with Japan in August 1945, Goodpaster worked on twenty-seven major projects. Almost half had direct political implications, including an analysis of the desirability of Russian participation in the war against Japan, the participation of French troops in the Pacific Theater, recommendations on the size and composition of the permanent post-war army, and proposed post-war basing rights in the Pacific.[141] While those projects required the application of careful analysis and typically resulted in an S&P paper, the issue of Philippine independence, which arose in the spring of 1945, served to demonstrate the degree to which the military had become more influential in international relations.

In early May 1945, the president-in-exile of the Philippines, Sergio Osmeña, visited the White House to gain reassurance that the U.S. would follow through on its promise to recognize Philippine independence on 4 July 1946.[142] Osmeña feared the U.S. would renege on its 1934 promise because U.S. planners had not defined their requirements for military facilities in the Philippines, including naval and air bases. President Harry Truman, new in office after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, told Secretary of War Stimson that he wanted to resolve the issue of basing rights the following day.[143] Stimson and Marshall returned to the Pentagon and called on Lincoln and S&P to come up with some options. Lincoln, Goodpaster, and an Air Corps officer, Phil Greasley, went to Stimson's office, where the Secretary of War explained that he desired a short statement to the effect that the U.S. would support Philippine independence, while leaving open the question of basing rights. General

[141] 'List of Projects,' 16 November 1945, Box 4, FF 4/6, War Department, Official Memorandums 1945, AJG Collection 230.

[142] Schnabel, James F., *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, vol. 1, JCS & National Policy (Washington, D.C.: Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint History Office, 1996), 158.

[143] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 8, File 1.

Marshall disagreed and thought that any agreement must include a detailed listing of requirements, because an "agreement in principle only will prove useless."[144] Stimson told the planners, "we've given you all the help we can, now get to it!"[145]

The group worked all night and devised three options, one in Stimson's preferred short format, one in Marshall's long and detailed style, and a third consisting of a short statement and an attached, detailed appendix. Marshall and Stimson agreed to the third, and while Marshall wanted signatures on the appendix, Stimson overruled him. The two presidents signed the statement that morning.[146] Thus, in less than a day, three military planners, the Army Chief of Staff, and the Secretary of War produced an international agreement signed by two presidents. The State Department was not even consulted. In part that was a result of President Truman's penchant for snap decisions in the wake of his assumption of the presidency, but it also demonstrated the degree to which the military had assumed some authority in the conduct of international relations.[147] Goodpaster came away from the experience with renewed appreciation for Marshall's thought process, but also with a better understanding of the impact American military planners increasingly had on foreign policy issues.[148]

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[144] Ibid.

[145] "Andrew Goodpaster Oral History Collection: Veterans History Project (American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)," Video File.

[146] Ibid. See also *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1945* (Washington, DC.: Dept. of State., 1968), especially Volume VI, documents 1208-1209.

[147] Stoler, *Allies and Adversaries*, 191-192; Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 29-31; John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947* (Columbia University Press, 1972), 199.

[148] Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 29. See also Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 325-326; Schnabel, James F., *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 159; See also Alfred D. Chandler, Louis Galambos, et al, eds., *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*., 21 vols., (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), Vol. VIII, 1388-1390.

In early 1945 Lincoln directed Goodpaster to begin work on a plan to redeploy troops from Europe to the Pacific when the war against Germany was over. The general concept was to shift the troops from Europe to the U.S. to build up a strategic reserve, which would then be moved into the Pacific Theater as the transportation became available. In the initial review of redeployment options, Goodpaster found that no "sudden collapse" plan existed for Japan. Such plans for Europe existed, predicated on the possibility that the German war effort might collapse and end the war swiftly. The discovery that no such plan had been prepared for Japan prompted Goodpaster to recommend that a plan be developed, in part because of limited Japanese efforts to explore options for ending the war.[149]

Goodpaster became aware of those efforts through his contact with Bonesteel in the S&P's Policy section, where Bonesteel was working on ways to convince the Japanese to surrender. Lincoln recommended to Marshall that a "sudden collapse" plan be prepared, and Marshall then recommended it to MacArthur. MacArthur resisted, fearing that word would leak out, and that morale would be affected.[150] MacArthur most likely feared a decline in the morale of his forces already in combat and those preparing to invade Japan. Any hint that the U.S. was preparing for a collapse in the Japanese war effort could have resulted in reduced aggressiveness in the execution of ongoing combat operations, hence his reluctance and the need to keep such planning secret. Marshall, however, insisted that the plan could be done

[149] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 329-330, 342-343. Cline credited COL Robert J. Wood with the proposal, because the memo to Lincoln came from Wood, but stated that Wood's own group found no urgency in the preparation of surrender documents for Japan. That was because Bonesteel was "urgently preparing" surrender options in the Policy Section. Wood was Goodpaster's immediate supervisor, the chief of the Strategy Section. Goodpaster told Wood of his discovery and advised that a formal, "on the record" request for planning be submitted. Lincoln was informed and approved the request, thereby setting in motion the occupation planning for Japan.

[150] See Giangreco, D.M., "Operation Downfall: The Devil was in the Details," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. 9 (1995): 86-94.

on a "close-hold" basis, and that it needed to be done.[151] Consequently, Goodpaster found himself and several other planners on a plane bound for the Philippines, where he was to meet with MacArthur's Southwest Pacific (SWPAC) staff to coordinate plans both for the invasion of Japan and the possibility of a sudden collapse of the Japanese war effort.

The mission to the Pacific Theater was a whirlwind affair. In two short weeks the planners achieved real progress on their objectives: as they reported, to "reach a closer understanding with the theater on redeployment; to obtain first-hand information on theater problems; to obtain information on future plans being developed by the theater; observe the scale and progress of preparations for future operations, and to become acquainted with the officers who are developing the plans." [152]

Goodpaster also visited port facilities and assessed their suitability as staging areas, met with air corps and logistics staffs to coordinate shipping for the redeployment of personnel and equipment from Germany, and attended numerous meetings to help quell inter-service tensions between navy and army operations in the Pacific Theater. Before departing for Washington, Goodpaster met with the SWPAC staff again and reviewed their work on the "sudden collapse" plan, which SWPAC called BLACKLIST.[153] The BLACKLIST plan essentially converted the assault forces organized for the invasion of Japan to occupation forces, albeit under much reduced logistic requirements. The plan also proposed troop levels and acceptable reductions for the first year of the occupation, the basic

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[151] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 9, File 1.

[152] Memorandum for Chief, S&P, OPD, 19 July 1945, FF 4/6, War Department, Official Memorandums, 1945, AJG Collection 230.

[153] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 348 See also John Ray Skates, *Invasion of Japan: Alternative to the Bomb* (University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 143.

concepts of American military government operations in Japan, and the role of MacArthur's headquarters in the occupation. Because BLACKLIST was only a draft plan, MacArthur's staff refused to allow Goodpaster to bring a copy back to OPD. Goodpaster was permitted to make notes about the plan, and those later proved critical in the development of an occupation plan in Washington.[154] OPD and S&P had long used visits by staff planners to maintain close ties with the theater planning staffs, but the firsthand knowledge of the theater level planning and preparation gained by Goodpaster and his colleagues became instrumental in the final planning tasks of the war.[155]

As Goodpaster returned to Washington, President Truman received news at Potsdam, where he was meeting with the allied leaders, of the successful atomic bomb test.[156] Lincoln was also at Potsdam, and the successful test increased the importance of Goodpaster's trip because of the possibility that Japan could be forced into surrender without an invasion of the home islands, then scheduled for November 1945.[157] Goodpaster wired his report to Potsdam three days later. He discussed some of the problems with the BLACKLIST plan, particularly the SWPAC staff's poorly defined plan to use Japanese civilian agencies "for control purposes 'as long as convenient,'" and the projected troop strength required to occupy Japan, estimated at 505,000 after the first year. He noted that "[SWPAC] figures are

[154] While it seems curious that SWPAC would not give Goodpaster a copy of the plan, it is understandable that MacArthur's staff officers would not have permitted a copy to go to Washington, given that MacArthur had not approved the plan. Additionally, it is possible that MacArthur's staff had just experienced a serious security breach and was therefore reluctant to release the plan. See Alvin D. Coox, "Needless Fear: The Compromise of U.S. Plans to Invade Japan in 1945," *The Journal of Military History* 64/2 (April 2000): 420-428.

[155] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 306-311.

[156] The Manhattan Project, run by General Leslie Groves and scientist Robert Oppenheimer, developed the atomic bomb. It was also the only War Department project with a higher priority for resources than the artificial harbors being built for the invasion of Japan. See Giangreco, D.M., "Operation Downfall: The Devil was in the Details," 89.

[157] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 9, File 1.

based on an estimate of what the U.S. public will accept."[158] Goodpaster's report demonstrated that military planners in the overseas theaters had also learned to consider domestic political concerns in their strategic planning.[159]

As soon as Lincoln returned from Potsdam, he assigned Goodpaster to the Joint War Plans Committee (JWPC) as his deputy.[160] As head of the S&P Lincoln was also the chief army planner and a member of the JWPC, the planning committee that coordinated the individual services' plans at the Joint Staff level. Goodpaster's knowledge of BLACKLIST was the critical element in the move to the JWPC. Because MacArthur's planners had not permitted copies of the plan, Goodpaster's "copious notes" and thorough analysis provided the basis for the occupation planning conducted by the JWPC.[161]

The Japanese surrendered on 14 August 1945, after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs. Goodpaster had not known about the atom bomb directly, but Lincoln had, and the possibility of its use had contributed to his accepting Goodpaster's recommendation to explore sudden collapse options for Japan.[162] With the sudden end to the war, the JWPC forwarded a modified version of the BLACKLIST plan to the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) for immediate implementation as the occupation

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[158] Memorandum for Chief, S&P, OPD, 19 July 1945, FF 4/6, War Department, Official Memorandums 1945, AJG Collection 230.

[159] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 312-332; Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 10-12; Brower, Charles F., "Sophisticated Strategist: General George A. Lincoln and the Defeat of Japan, 1944-45," *The Journal of Diplomatic History* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 332-333.

[160] Memorandum, Assignment of Officer, JWPC, 26 July 1945, effective 23 July 1945, Box 4, FF 4/6, War Department, Official Memorandums 1945, AJG Collection 230.

[161] Andrew Goodpaster Collection (AFC/2001/001/29916), Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Video File.

[162] Ibid.

plan for Japan.[163] Goodpaster's recommendation to explore a "sudden collapse" plan, prompted by his knowledge of diplomatic initiatives to end the war, proved fortuitous when the war ended more rapidly than he had expected. His knowledge of the occupation plan and his personal experience with conditions in the Pacific Theater, especially with regard to logistics issues and redeployment planning, made him particularly helpful in the hectic final days of the war.

[163] Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 350-351. SWNCC had civilian committee members from the State Department, War Department, and Department of the Navy. Military planners and deputies served on sub-committees, but SWNCC was established to provide a nexus where State Department input could influence military planning. See Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America* (Princeton University Press, 2008), 118-119 for SWNCC's part in increasing the military's role in foreign affairs. SWNCC was later replaced by the National Security Council, whose meetings Goodpaster frequently attended as President Eisenhower's staff secretary.

An Education in Political-Military Affairs

The end of the war did not ease the pressure on OPD or the JWPC. Suddenly the overwhelming priority became demobilizing most of the eight million soldiers in uniform at the end of the war. While a point system had been established in 1944 by Marshall to ensure orderly and fair transportation back to the United States, the process was not as rapid as many service members, their families, or their elected representatives wanted.[164] The redeployment of troops from Europe to form the strategic reserve in the United States accelerated the demobilization process. By the time the Japanese surrendered, fourteen of the seventeen divisions scheduled for redeployment were back in the U.S.[165]

For Goodpaster and the planners in S&P, it was a chaotic period. In September 1945 he worked almost exclusively on tasks related to demobilization. He helped prepare remarks and notes for three congressional appearances by Marshall and members of OPD. The Strategy Section in the S&P became increasingly concerned with issues that required troop resources, especially occupation duty, which included an array of difficult tasks: security, humanitarian aid, military government, and basic repair of important roads and facilities.[166] These tasks became critical, especially in Europe and Japan, where the army assumed

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[164] Schnabel, James F, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 93; Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 316; Fautua, "An Army For the 'American Century': The Origins of the Cold War U.S. Army, 1949-1959," 129.

[165] Schnabel, James F, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 95.

[166] Ibid., 91-99

responsibility for feeding large portions of the population in the most war-ravaged areas.[167] Goodpaster, instructed by Lincoln, made the "arrangements to take care of [a] possible Venezia Giulia commitment," a reference to the tense stand-off between Allied forces and Yugoslavian Communists around the port of Trieste in northeastern Italy.[168] He also helped prepare a timeline for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Czechoslovakia, a move opposed by the State Department on the grounds that Soviet forces in that country already outnumbered U.S. troops and that further decreasing U.S. strength would cede that nation to Soviet control.[169]

Goodpaster's work on demobilization included twenty-two conferences with various government agencies on troop strength and transportation requirements in the month of September 1945 alone. The strategic concerns over troop levels in places like Italy and Czechoslovakia occurred within the context of increased tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In early September the American Secretary of State James Byrnes discovered at the Council of Foreign Ministers conference in London that the atomic bomb had less utility as a bargaining tool than some officials had hoped.[170] Mutual tension and distrust developed between both nations through the fall of 1945.

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[167] Chandler, Galambos, and Eisenhower, *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower,* Vol. VII, 973-975; see also Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-48," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1984), 363.

[168] 'Memorandum for the Chief, Strategy Section,' 5 October 1945, Box 4, FF 4/6, AJG Collection 230.

[169] Ibid; Schnabel, James F, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 36.

[170] Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 79-99; Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War*, 1st ed. (Hill and Wang, 2008), 46-53. Leffler asserts that Soviet policy in the immediate post-war period was a confusing array of mixed signals and incoherent in its entirety. See also Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947*, 263-265, 281. Gaddis found that Secretary of State Byrne's attempts to use the bomb as diplomatic leverage were frustrated at London and abandoned at Moscow in December 1945.

By early 1946, the immediate rush of demobilization eased and the new army Chief of Staff, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the War Department attempted to stabilize the force structure to meet existing American commitments. According to Eisenhower, "the Army let its heart run away with its head" in the rush to get troops home.[171] By January 1946, more than five million troops had demobilized, and Eisenhower faced the unenviable task of trying to staunch the outflow of personnel and meet the commitments of a globally dispersed force.[172] For Goodpaster and the other planners, it was a period of intense effort and frustration. In the post-war period the military services increasingly quibbled over resources and assumed partisan positions on a variety of topics, especially the issue of military unification. The deadlock over inter-service cooperation and restructuring carried over into the realm of strategic planning. Goodpaster, working as Lincoln's deputy on the JWPC, focused on preparing "a postwar military policy, an overall postwar strategic plan on a worldwide basis, and recommendations on U.S. requirements for postwar bases."[173] The process was made considerably more difficult by the lack of inter-service cooperation and the inability of the State Department to formulate political guidance for military policy or provide substantive input on the issue of overseas basing rights.

Goodpaster also worked on the first joint war plan to incorporate atomic weapons for use against the Soviet Union. Code-named PINCHER, the plan relied on Air Corps strategic bombardment of the USSR using both the limited stock of atomic weapons and conventional

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[171] Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 117.

[172] Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 117-119; Schnabel, James F., *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 102; Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947*, 261.

[173] Schnabel, James F., *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 64.

bombs. The Air Corps would have to attack from overseas bases, which required cooperation from allies and caused further friction between the War and the State Departments, which frequently differed on the strategic value of territories under consideration as bases.[174]

After the rapid progress of events and ideas in the S&P in 1944-45, the progress made in the JWPC the following year was disappointing. Writing to a former planner in the fall, 1946, Goodpaster reported that "life on the treadmill goes along much the same with most of us barely keeping up with our in baskets. I have had several interesting projects to work on and some of them, by the time I have a long gray beard, may get somewhere. The JCS mill however grinds just as slowly as it ever did, if not more so."[175]

By the fall of 1946, the JWPC's efforts at joint strategic planning had largely been stymied by the inter-service rifts at the JCS level. Goodpaster reflected that "the failure to obtain resolution in the Chiefs of two or three basic problems prevented us from turning out what I would consider a satisfactory amount of work." He was similarly frustrated with Lincoln's delays in approving some projects, describing Lincoln's "familiar routine of 'why hasn't something been done about this?' and 'the most important part of the problem has been overlooked', while I made a successful attempt to keep my blood pressure from popping a

[174] Schnabel, James F, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy 1945-1947*, 74; Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 112-114.; Lawrence Freedman, *Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 51; Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-48," 364-378. Notably, the State Department saw no strategic value in retaining the island of Okinawa as a base area, a matter that was hotly disputed by the War Department.

[175] Letter, 24 Oct 1946, A.J. Goodpaster to LTC H.L. Richey, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department, Correspondence, 11 November 1944- 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

safety valve. His solution was good—just as good as it was in the paper we handed him ten weeks earlier."[176]

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In October 1946 Goodpaster was released from his responsibilities with the JWPC and returned to the Strategy Section of S&P, where he began inquiring into education programs, an important part of the typical engineer officer's career path. The pre-war Corps of Engineers education program had been designed to ensure that all of its officers attended graduate school so that officers who had already commanded engineer companies or battalions would gain the technical knowledge for large civil engineering projects. The Engineer Branch revived the program in 1946 and began sending officers off to graduate schools around the country. Goodpaster and the other engineer officers in OPD were not sent to school in 1946, but it appeared as if they might be permitted to go in 1947, although Goodpaster had his doubts. "My confidence weakens every time the subject comes up with General Lincoln," he grumbled. Although Goodpaster appreciated the experience in the JWPC, calling it a "quick, liberal education in some of the things that make the world go round," he wanted a more formal education.[177] He was not, however, impressed with the Engineer Branch's selection of degree programs and course offerings, which he regarded as too technically narrow for broad applications.

In that regard, Goodpaster's thinking was strongly influenced by civilian lecturers at the newly established National War College (NWC) in Washington, D.C. Writing to the noted strategic thinker Bernard Brodie after attending his lecture at the NWC in the fall,

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

1946, Goodpaster remarked on Brodie's call "for continued education of a broad nature for Army and Navy officers at civilian institutions." Goodpaster was not a student at the NWC, but many of the OPD officers attended lectures there when they had the time, especially when the lectures were given by top experts in fields like strategy, economics, and international relations. Goodpaster was "much impressed with the need for the objective and scientific - as opposed to partisan or doctrinaire - approach to the large problems confronting the military today." Goodpaster believed that a broader education would provide a solution to some of the service parochialism he had experienced on the JWPC since "with the best intent in the world, many able officers seem unable to achieve the essential degree of detachment, and escape from the confines of vision which pre-occupation with branch or service assignment imposes."[178]

Goodpaster was not the only army officer influenced by the lectures of important academics at the National War College that fall. General Eisenhower, disappointed with the failures of the JCS to agree on the most pressing issues of the post-war period, found a possible solution in a lecture by Dr. James Conant, the president of Harvard University. Conant insisted that the military commit itself to the long term study of future strategic problems. Eisenhower saw it as an opportunity for the army and the War Department to begin dealing with strategic problems without the need for JCS consensus. As he was far too occupied running the army to give the problem the necessary attention, he directed Major General Lauris Norstad, Director of Plans and Operations (P&O), the newly restructured replacement for OPD, to conduct such a long term study.[179]

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[178] Letter, LTC A.J. Goodpaster to Bernard Brodie, 7 Jan 1947, FF 4/4, War Department, Correspondence, 11 November 1944 - 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[179] See Cline, *Washington Command Post*, 352-362.

Norstad, on Lincoln's recommendation, assigned Goodpaster and Colonel Don Zimmerman to set up a small group of officers to begin examining the strategic problems of the atomic age. The result was the establishment of the Advanced Study Group (ASG) on 22 January 1947.[180] Eisenhower's instructions to the ASG were deliberately vague: "evolve concepts of national security in light of the advancements of the atomic age, consider the effects of such concepts . . . prepare studies and recommendations which may be utilized in establishing appropriate . . . concepts and policies by the War Department agencies."[181]

In their initial meeting, Eisenhower directed Goodpaster and Zimmerman to establish a basic philosophy of national security and granted them virtual autonomy in their daily operations, methods of study, areas of research, and access to other agencies in the War Department. Eisenhower explained that he wanted long range thinking in areas to which he could not devote much attention. He told the officers that concepts they developed could be brought to him at any time and encouraged them to do so.[182] The Group was to have nothing to do with current affairs, training, or other issues that "belonged to other people."[183] In short, Eisenhower was establishing an internal think-tank for the army and wanted them to become the experts on the subject of future war and the problems of fighting it, so well versed and so highly regarded that they would be asked to speak at universities. Initially, the

[180] Letter, COL D.Z. Zimmerman to Dr. J.B. Conant, 21 March 1947, FF 4/4, War Department, Correspondence, 11 November 1944 - 25 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[181] Memorandum No. 10-15-1, War Department, Washington, D.C., 1 May 1947, Subject: Advanced Study Group, Plans and Operations Division, War Department General Staff, FF 11/8, Official Memorandums, 11 October 1950 - 13 December 1950, AJG Collection 230. [NB, this document is misfiled by date in the SHAPE files.]

[182] Notes on Conference with General Eisenhower 25 April 1947, FF 4/10, War Department, Official Memorandums, 7 Apr 1947 - 7 Aug 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[183] Ibid.

members focused on reading a broad selection of texts on economics, international relations, and history. Eisenhower encouraged them to communicate with academics at Princeton, Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and other top universities. Goodpaster had already contacted Bernard Brodie, as well as Edward Earle at Princeton, Grayson Kirk and Harold Sprout at Columbia, and Conant at Harvard in the course of his investigation into alternative education programs. They offered support for the ASG project in the form of consultation and introductions to other influential academics.

At the outbreak of World War II, Marshall, unhappy with the stagnation that had developed in the senior ranks of the army, removed a number of senior officers from War Department command and staff positions, making room for talented younger officers to advance rapidly.[184] Eisenhower also emphasized the importance of finding high quality officers to sustain the ASG program, probably influenced by his experience in the inter-war period. Goodpaster responded by issuing a memorandum to the ASG in March 1947 suggesting that the best way to achieve a predictable rotation of qualified officers for the ASG was for the current members to nominate candidates.[185] The suggestion, reminiscent of the OPD recruiting practices of World War II, resulted in a substantial list of promising junior officers.[186]

In late March, Goodpaster and Lincoln joined a special committee to examine the financial, technical, and military aid necessary to support the Marshall Plan, created to speed

[184] Fautua, "An Army For the 'American Century': The Origins of the Cold War U.S. Army, 1949-1959," 133-134, 150-152, 154. See also Eisenhower, *At Ease*, 235-238.

[185] Memorandum, A.J. Goodpaster, Subject: 'Personnel for Advanced Study Group,' 11 March 1947, FF 4/9, War Department Official Memorandums, 1 March 1947 - 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[186] 'Slate of Officers Suggested for Advanced Study Group,' 17 March 1947, FF 4/9, War Department Official Memorandums, 1 March 1947 - 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230. Of the 73 officers named, over half eventually became generals, including eight who achieved four stars.

European recovery after World War II. Marshall, then the Secretary of State and concerned by the lack of economic recovery in war-ravaged countries, requested an analysis of what support would be needed by which countries. The special committee functioned as a sub-committee of the SWNCC to establish the basic components of the Marshall Plan, including the national security objectives of the U.S. and the conditions attached to aid. Goodpaster and Lincoln advocated a global approach, but the State Department representatives, George Kennan and Charles Bohlen, soon convinced the officers that such an approach would be too broad and too expensive. Kennan and Bohlen recommended a "Europe first" approach to recovery, arguing that reconstructing and repairing was easier than building something that had never existed. The State Department planners also preferred an approach that offered European nations a role in shaping the plan.[187] The Marshall Plan included ideas from both the War and State Departments, but its principles corresponded more closely with the State Department's ideas. Marshall delivered his speech on European recovery a month later at the Harvard University graduation.[188]

While Goodpaster worked on the ASG project and the early stages of the Marshall Plan, his efforts to secure a broad education instead of a narrowly engineer-oriented course of study came to the attention of General Norstad. Goodpaster's contacts with the civilian academic community as part of the ASG project helped the Director of P&O attain some leverage over what types of education planning officers could secure. At Lincoln's urging, Goodpaster forwarded the information he had received from Princeton, Yale, and Columbia

[187] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 11, File 2. See also Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 147-149.

[188] Stoler, *George C. Marshall*, 156-157.

with the copies of his inquiry letters. Enthusiastic, Norstad endorsed Goodpaster's request for "broader studies of history and political affairs fitted to plans and policy work on the War Department General Staff."[189] Norstad forwarded an official proposal from P&O through the Personnel and Administration Division of the War Department to get Goodpaster, Edward Rowny, and Stanley Dziuban, the three engineer officers scheduled for school, approved for a more liberal program of study that incorporated international relations, history and economics.

The response from the chief of personnel actions, Major General Willard S. Paul, was not encouraging. In disapproving the request he told Norstad that "the only excuse for this combination is to assist the officers personally."[190] "The insinuation of self-seeking" angered all three who thought, in Goodpaster's words "that we deserved better than that."[191] Norstad explained to Paul that "a major object in getting these people into school . . . is that of having them performing missionary work for the army among a group of eminent scholars and future public administrators."[192]

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[189] Draft letter, MG L. Norstad to Dr. J.B. Conant, 17 January 1947, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department, Correspondence, 11 November 1944 - 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230. Norstad, an Air Corps officer, was one of the brightest and youngest generals in the Air Corps.

[190] Memo for MG L. Norstad, from MG W.S. Paul, Dir. of Personnel & Admin., 24 February 1947, Box 4, FF 4/8, War Department Official Memorandums, 8 January 1947 - 28 February 1947, AJG Collection 230. Paul's memo is an example of army post-war bureaucratic maneuvering. He was probably less concerned with the individual courses of study proposed than with P&O's involvement in the Administration Division's control of education programs. See also Masland and Radway, *Soldiers and Scholars: Military Education and National Policy*, 506-509.

[191] Letter, A.J. Goodpaster to G.A. Lincoln, 24 June 1949, Box 5, FF 5/3, Correspondence, 9 January 1949 – 27 July 1949, AJG Collection 230. In some ways the accusation of self-seeking rings true—the officers were attempting to choose their own course of study. However, given the emphasis placed on broad studies by most of the leading academics of the day, and the Chief of Staff, it was probably only a matter of time before the army explored new education options.

[192] Dziuban draft memo for MG L. Norstad for MG W.S.Paul, reference civilian schooling for P&O officers, 25 February 1947, Box 4, FF 4/8, War Department Official Memorandums, 8 January 1947 - 28 February 1947, AJG Collection 230.

In the end, the disapproval of the Administration Division had little effect on Goodpaster, who departed in July 1947 for a two year school assignment to Princeton University "with wide latitude of choice as to the courses to be pursued."[193] Goodpaster did not know it at the time, but the ultimate decision on the modified schooling plan for the P&O officers was made by the Army Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower. As the Assistant Director of P&O remembered it, “Norstad reached the conclusion that Goodpaster was one of the most exceptionally outstanding officers of his grade in the entire service.” Norstad “brought this matter personally to the attention of Gen[eral] Eisenhower, with the suggestion that Goodpaster be particularly earmarked for further development” and “Eisenhower was instrumental in his assignment to Princeton University as a graduate student.”[194]

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Andrew Goodpaster went on to earn a Ph.D. in international relations from Princeton and a long career in the army, characterized by frequent staff assignments at the highest echelons of the army and the government, working on the most critical national security issues, and culminating in a five-year stint as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. Eisenhower selected him as a founding member of the NATO military headquarters in 1951 and then as White House Staff Secretary in 1954, a testament to Goodpaster’s intelligence, character, and experience. When Eisenhower was asked about Goodpaster after appointing

[193] Letter, A.J. Goodpaster to H. Taylor, 10 March 1947, Box 4, FF 4/4, War Department, Correspondence, 11 November 1944 - 27 March 1947, AJG Collection 230; Certificate, 14 August 1947, signed: A.J. Goodpaster, LTC GSC, Box 4, FF 4/5, War Department Correspondence – 27 March 1947 - 14 August 1947, AJG Collection 230.

[194] Memorandum for General Brooks, P&S Division, From BG C.V.R. Schuyler, P&O, 27 October 1949, Box 5, FF 5/4, Correspondence, 7 August 1949 - 23 November 1949, AJG Collection 230. BG Cort Schuyler replaced BG George Lincoln as the head of P&O when the latter returned to USMA as a permanent professor in 1947.

him Staff Secretary, the president replied "I would ask nothing more than for my son to grow up to be as good a man as he is."[195]

Goodpaster's childhood in the Midwest, the lessons imparted by his parents and teachers, his struggles during the Depression, and his natural intelligence combined to produce a bright young man accustomed to dealing with adversity. His parents proved the fundamental influence on his early life, the stern practicality of his father balanced by the compassionate care of his mother. When the Depression prevented him from achieving his career goals he sought a new route to success, first by putting on the "heavy shoes" of an industrial laborer, and then by competing for a West Point appointment. With that experience, a measure of personal ambition, and an appreciation for practicality, Goodpaster entered West Point, an experience that transformed his life.

At some point during the four years at West Point—one he never could identify—the Academy ceased to be an escape from the Depression and a ticket to a free education and instead became the entrée-point to a lifetime of service. In the crucible of West Point, Andrew Goodpaster excelled both in the classroom and in military training, gained the lasting respect of classmates and instructors, and found the love of his life, Dorothy Anderson. In the process, he also internalized the West Point value structure, especially the importance of duty and personal responsibility. In fact, Goodpaster measured himself and other officers against the standard of duty throughout his life, and expected the standard to be met. In court-martial proceedings, training, strategic planning, career choices, and most importantly, on the battlefield, Andrew Goodpaster prized the performance of duty above all other qualities.

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[195] Sherman Adams, *First-Hand Report: The Story of The Eisenhower Administration*, 1st ed. (Harper & Brothers, 1961), 53.

Upon graduating from the Academy, Goodpaster went to Panama, where he learned the fundamentals of military engineering and practical leadership, the type of adaptive problem solving that could not be learned in a West Point classroom or a supervised drill in summer encampments. After Pearl Harbor he put those skills into practice in engineer units in Panama and Louisiana, where he honed his skills in the combat aspects of military engineering. Deployed to the Mediterranean in 1943, Goodpaster led his battalion and later the 1108th Engineer Group in the brutal Italian campaign. In command, Goodpaster demonstrated the prized qualities of an army officer: courage, intelligence, determination, and commitment to his mission and his men. Twice wounded and recipient of two of the army's highest awards for valor, he returned to the United States and played a key role as an army strategic planner.

For Andrew Goodpaster, assignments and duties from 1944 through 1947 gave him a unique education in political-military affairs. He participated in planning the invasion of Japan and its occupation, the post-war demobilization, and the army's initial attempts to come to grips with atomic warfare. He witnessed firsthand the internecine conflict within the U.S. government as the War Department, State Department, and Department of the Navy fought for resources and roles in the post-war period. Eisenhower's response to the problems of demobilization and the disunity of the Joint Chiefs eventually led to his formation of the Advanced Study Group and a real effort to move beyond the stagnant planning processes embodied in the post-war JWPC. Goodpaster's involvement in these different projects, combining military and political affairs, provided him with an exceptional grounding in national security studies. He honed his skills under the tutelage of great army leaders and the best army minds: Lincoln, Bonesteel, Marshall, Norstad, and Eisenhower. He later described

it as "a great school – how people of that stature handled their jobs."[196] The experience also brought Goodpaster to the attention of powerful men who remained involved in his career for many years to come.

Goodpaster's experiences demonstrated changes in the way the army, especially senior officers, mentored and developed promising young officers. The army did poorly in the systematic development of strategic planners at least into the early 1950s, when Lincoln declared, "some more good minds had better move toward the Pentagon." Lincoln opined that, "progressively, since 1947 or perhaps earlier, we have moved to depend too much on organization and procedures—not enough on men."[197] Lincoln referred in part to the army's post-war institutionalization of personnel selection for OPD positions—while more systematic than the personal selection method Lincoln had used, officer assignments also became more bureaucratic and less flexible. The attempts to secure broader education for some officers reflected one attempt to mitigate the problem, but it was a stop-gap measure at best.

Andrew Goodpaster's selection for advanced education reflected the reality that army patronage in the post-war period was in some ways not very different from the pre-war army. In short, rising to positions of importance and authority still took more than just ability. Goodpaster's early career demonstrated the importance of being noticed and having connections within the service. While he may have earned any consideration he received, Goodpaster's advancement was certainly aided by the influence of powerful men like

[196] General Andrew Goodpaster, Kenneth Mandell, and James H. McCall, "Interviews with General Andrew Goodpaster," Box 11, AJG Collection 231-A, Disc 8, File 2.

[197] Letter, 5 January 1953, COL G.A. Lincoln to COL A.J. Goodpaster, Box 12, FF 12/26, Correspondence-January 1953, AJG Collection 230.

Lincoln and Eisenhower, and later by Generals J. Lawton Collins, Matthew Ridgway, and Maxwell Taylor. Even as the importance of connections persisted, the nature of senior officer mentorship changed. The post-war army left little time for senior leaders to take personal interest in developing promising subordinates. To some degree, advanced education offered an alternative to the old mentorship model, and other officers, in increasing numbers, followed Goodpaster to civilian universities or the military's war colleges.

Finally, Andrew Goodpaster's experience illuminated the army's growing involvement in the conduct of political-military affairs. Over the course of World War II, partly as a result of President Franklin Roosevelt's personal control of foreign policy and partly as a result of the growing power of the War Department, the military accrued a degree of institutional power in foreign and military policy. To some degree that was a result of the State Department's inability to consistently and reliably provide quick, well-reasoned foreign policy recommendations, but it also reflected the military's growing involvement in political-military issues like overseas basing rights, governing occupied territories, and assessments of domestic political support for military operations. The vast resources of the War Department during World War II enabled the military to expand its involvement in political-military affairs, and the global commitment of American military forces after the war allowed it to consolidate much of that power.

Andrew Goodpaster's later career was largely spent in positions where he either advised others about political-military affairs or participated directly in the conduct of such affairs. That later career, however, was anchored in his experiences before, during, and after World War II, especially the education in political-military affairs he gained from 1944 through 1947. By 1947 he had become a broadly experienced as well as highly intelligent,

ambitious officer and proved himself both in combat and in the highest staff organizations in the army. In Lincoln, Marshall, and Eisenhower he found the mentors and role models that shaped his career, and emerged as an officer respected for his intellect, commitment to duty, and extraordinary potential for future service.

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